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THE EXPOSITOR.

VOL. I.

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EXPOSITOR.

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THE USES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR EDIFICATION.[1]

During the short time that I am to occupy your attention I daresay I shall be expected to speak on some topic connected with the Old Testament. There is a subject which at present has a great interest for many minds, the subject of archæology, in particular the archæology of Egypt and Babylon, considered as casting light on Biblical questions, and as corroborative of Bible history. Perhaps archæologists attach an exaggerated importance to their favourite study. The antiquities of Egypt offer little help to the Biblical student. There are some things, however, in Babylonian thought which show interesting coincidences with the thought of Israel. These coincidences appear chiefly in two departments of thought—that relating to the beginning of things, and that relating to the end of things; in other words, to creation and to the state after death. The Bible narratives of the creation and the flood have their counterparts in the Babylonian literature. The general cosmology is common to the two literatures, and the popular conceptions of death and the state of the dead found in the Old Testament are similar to those prevalent in Babylon. These facts warrant an immediate conclusion, and perhaps a remoter inference. The conclusion is, that the creation and flood narratives are not the inventions or imaginations of Hebrew writers; neither are they what might be called immediate revelations to the minds of the writers. They are reproductions of traditions and modes

[1] Parts of an address at the opening of the New College, October, 1899.

of thought common to a large division of the human race. They are part of the heritage of thought which Israel brought with it from its cradle in the East, and which, lying in its mind, was afterwards modified by the religion of Jehovah, not obliterated, but shot through and illuminated with the rays of true religious light. And it is not for their own sakes that these old-world traditions are reproduced by the writers of Scripture; they are introduced, modified by the principles of the religion of Jehovah, in order that those who read them may take up a right religious attitude towards the world, find their true bearings, as it were, when contemplating creation and nature and the beginnings of human history. And the remoter inference might be, that as these narratives are not pure creations of the Hebrew mind but reflections of ideas common to a large division of the human race, so the strange traditions of early humanity recorded in the first ten chapters of Genesis, and much more the stories of the Patriarchs from the twelfth chapter onwards, have all a real historical basis, and are not mere ideal inventions.

In other ways the antiquities of Babylon and Assyria corroborate the historical narratives of the Bible, and particularly help us to understand the chronology. But the light which archæology sheds on the Bible is mostly superficial. The time has long gone by when it could be said that religion was the invention of interested priests. The time has also gone by when it could be pretended that the histories of the Old Testament were fictions or fables. Archæology may confirm these histories, but in our day its confirmation is scarcely needed. Other and more fundamental questions have now arisen: the question, whether there be a living God, and whether He has come down into the history of mankind to purify them and lift them up into fellowship with Himself, and whether there be an eternal hope for the individual and for the race; and on

these questions archæology has little to say, unless, indeed, its limits be so extended as to include the history and contents of the ancient religions.

For a period now of about 150 years what is called criticism has occupied itself with the Old Testament, and results have been reached which, though not universally, are generally acquiesced in, particularly in regard to what might be called the history of the ritual worship of Jehovah in Israel. And it might be supposed that the time had come to make an estimate of these results, to sum up the profit and the loss, for we may assume that no general and earnest movement of the human mind can be without its profit, real and permanent, and that the loss, if there be any, will be but partial and temporary. But obviously such an estimate is too large a subject for an occasion like this. Further, the right person to make such an estimate is not easy to find. The ideal person ought to be one with all the modes of thought of fifty years ago suddenly confronted with all the conclusions of the new learning in their completeness. Such a mind would be sensible at once of the differences, the antitheses would stand out vividly before him, and the general bearing on religious faith of the two different views would be apparent. But one who has lived during the process, and who has successively accommodated himself step by step to each new conclusion as it arose, is not in a position to contrast the new and the old with anything like the same sharpness. Such a person may remember his own early perplexities and the efforts required to assimilate each new discovery, and to effect a readjustment of his mental state; but knowing that the history of his mind was the history of hundreds of other minds, and not supposing that a record of his successive mental movements would be of any use or interest to the world, he would not keep any record of them. All that he would be able to say, after a readjustment had been effected and he had attained

to equilibrium, would be that so far as the doctrines of the faith are concerned criticism has not touched them, cannot touch them, and they remain as they were. This conclusion was stated many years ago by Prof. Robertson Smith, in these words: "Of this I am sure, that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can only come from God—that no historical research can deprive me of this conviction, or make less precious the Divine utterances that speak to the heart. For the language of these words is so clear that no readjustment of their historical setting can conceivably change the substance of them. Historical study may throw a new light on the circumstances in which they were first heard or written. In that there can only be gain. But the plain, central, heartfelt truths, that speak for themselves and rest on their own indefeasible worth, will assuredly remain with us."

Starting from the irrefragable testimony of experience that the Bible was the word of God, the Church has in all ages theorized upon the general conception "the word of God," and hazarded *a priori* judgments regarding what must be found in it or what must certainly be absent from it. But how few of these theoretical opinions formed beforehand have stood the test of experience, and how many of them have disappeared before historical and scientific investigation! and while one generation has trembled for the Scriptures, thinking the loss of something which was threatened involved the loss of all, the following generation has acquiesced in the loss with perfect composure. At one time, for example, it was contended that the Hebrew punctuation or vocalization must be considered an integral part of the Old Testament, and must be as ancient as the autographs of the Scripture writers. From the point of view of a perfect word of God absolutely complete in meaning this was anything but a foolish opinion. And yet historical investigation showed con-

clusively that such a word of God had not been given to men, and that the vowel signs in our Bibles, so far from being as old as Moses, were not so old as Jerome and the Talmud, four or five hundred years after the Christian era. At a later time it was contended that the Greek of the New Testament must be classical and free from all grammatical solecism. This was a far less sensible contention, for thoughts may be as accurately expressed in an impure or nonliterary dialect as in a classical one, and I daresay there are few of us here who have not heard our Scotch dialect used by good men in prayer with a power and pathos, which to us at least was more touching and impressive than the purest English would have been. At another time the strict conception of the word of God was held to imply that everything in Scripture which seemed to be historical representation must be regarded as a record of actual facts. A distinguished German theologian said of the events narrated in the first two chapters of Job, and of the speeches in that book, *nisi historia sit, fraus scriptoris.* But this rigid conception of "the word of God" has been greatly relaxed by a better acquaintance with the actual Scriptures. It is now recognised that there may be dramatic representation in Scripture; that speeches may be put into the mouths of persons which were never actually spoken, and that even a situation may be idealized or created so as to present the conditions of a moral problem more vividly to the mind; in a word, that the kinds of literary composition usual among men may be expected in Scripture. This general principle is at least recognised, though some may still be unwilling to carry it very far; for example, to apply it in any degree to a prose composition like Deuteronomy, though they may acquiesce in its application to poetical books like Job or semipoetical books like Ecclesiastes. The conception of the word of God strictly taken continues in many quarters

to be held in regard to Scripture statements about nature, and many are loath to part with the idea that when Scripture speaks of the earth or the heavens, it will speak in a way not to conflict with the sciences of geology or astronomy. Being the word of God, and nature being the work of God, it is thought that the two cannot but be in harmony, and that whatever ancient Scripture writers themselves thought of the world, and however ignorant they might be of science, they must have been so guided as at least to say nothing that could conflict with the certain results of science reached in our day.

There is, perhaps, left in the general mind a certain vague feeling or dread that in consequence of recent historical investigations the Old Testament cannot now be used as it has been used in all generations in the Church for edification, that it cannot be handled with the same firmness and assurance in public teaching as was formerly the case. Were this fear justified, it would be a serious misfortune. For there is in the Old Testament such a singular graphicness, such a variety of human situation and experience, so much pathos and joy and sorrow all irradiated with the hues of religion, such a powerful sense of God, such a practical assurance of His presence and power and sympathy and enlightenment, and such a broad hope in Him as having a gracious purpose towards the world and men, which amidst all present confusions He is working out and will yet make clearly to appear and realize,—in a word, such a religious reality, touching the life and mind of men on all sides, that the Church, especially the great common mass of believers, who are less moved by abstract principles, have at all times found in it great quickening to their faith and sustenance to their religious life. The loss would be very great if this meaning of the Old Testament for Christian minds should be imperilled or even in any way impaired. But the fear

of this has little foundation. Whatever changes in the historical disposition of some parts of the Old Testament have taken place their religious substance remains unimpaired and untouched. The prophets and Psalms cannot be lost because their truth is self-evidencing; they awaken and find their response in the religious mind of men, and so long as this mind remains—and it will always remain—the witness to their truth will remain.

There are perhaps two points in which there may be a fear that the use of the Old Testament has been impaired for the purposes of edification; first, its morality, which has been impeached; and second, the historical character of its early portions, which, it is feared, has been undermined. And there are two classes which these fears or suspicions may affect—those who hear it preached from, and those who preach from it. The latter class, those who use it in public ministrations, may have a latent feeling that what they are reading to men as history is really not so, and they may have great conflicts in their own minds, and feel themselves hampered or even paralyzed.

i. Now with respect to the first point, there are some considerations which we might keep before us in regard to the Old Testament. (1) The great use of Scripture in our day, and for many ages, as a means of moral and religious instruction has tended to make us forget how Scripture originated, and to regard it as a direct revelation given to us and in our circumstances. Now the word of God was spoken to us, but not immediately. It is ours, because we are part of God's historical Church which He founded long ago, and still guides by His Spirit in us, and by His word spoken to His Church in past ages—"God spake of old time in many parts and in many ways unto the fathers by the prophets" (Heb. i. 1). Being spoken to men long ago, it was spoken to them in their circumstances and conditions of mind, which in many things may have been

unlike ours. The colour, the circumstances, in a word the relativity, of the Old Testament belongs to the Church of the past, and the relativity includes the *amount* or *degree* of truth spoken on any given occasion—for "God spake in many parts."

But now what does this word of God appear to be when regarded thus as spoken to men of the past? Can we suppose that as written it has other or higher qualities than it had when spoken? Less lofty qualities it cannot have; but must we not form our opinion of the written word from the spoken word? Indeed, we plainly perceive that they are identical. Such a prophet as Amos or Isaiah used writing precisely as he used speech, his writing was but a condensation or an expansion, as the case might be, of his speech. To what objects, then, did he direct his speech? His objects were to enable men to live unto God in their day, and to show them from God how to live. The word of God was at all times practical, and at all times relating to life and conduct. If we go back to any one of the religious teachers from God, do we see him pursuing any other end than religious ones? Does he seek to correct men's notions of nature or history, or any other subject on which they had the opinions of their day? Does it not rather appear that the men to whom he spoke were left by him to think on every subject as they thought before, except in regard to God and living unto God? If such a teacher refer to nature, it will be to say that nature is the work of God and is in His hand, just as mankind, men, or nations are in His hand; if he refer to history, it will be to show how God's moral providence is visible in it.

But to come closer to Old Testament morality. It is manifest that the work of God in Israel took the people as it found them. It did not revolutionize their ideas. Certain practical things, such as the worship of Jehovah alone and morality, it insisted upon—morality at least so far.

Especially it put morality under the shield of Jehovah. Morality was part of religion, it had Divine sanction—moral duties were the commands of Jehovah. But this was all. The people were begun with on these lines just as they were found, precisely as an individual is begun with now, who has been impressed by religion. Their modes of thought on all things except God and duty were left; their superstitions, their credulities, their hereditary customs—their general views of things—these were not interfered with except when they might embody false thoughts of God or life. When taken in hand, the people, judged by modern standards, might be in a backward condition. Practices prevailed which Christianity has abolished, such as polygamy and others. Now the dispensation was one of redemption, and for that end one of education. But education cannot be given by the enunciation of abstract principles at one time; men must be trained. Now such practices as polygamy and slavery were treated in two ways: their use was mildened and circumscribed; and secondly, they were then left to come under the influence of other principles directly taught, which acted upon them and gradually resolved them. This problem of polygamy is one which faces missionaries at the present day, and different courses are recommended by different men, practical men, in regard to it. In the Old Testament, monogamy was left to be introduced by a gradual rise of moral tone. To whatever it was due, it was certainly the case that in Israel monogamy came to prevail without any express enactment. All the prophets, Hosea, Isaiah, Ezekiel, are represented as the husband of one wife; and so saints like Job; and the general higher teaching of revelation had led by the time of the Christian era, or long before it, to what was virtually a universal practice. That monogamy is the ideal of the relation of man and woman is suggested by both the creation narratives, Genesis i. and ii.; and so our Lord interprets them (Matt. xix. 8). In dealing with

nations a certain opportunism is inevitable. Revolutionary changes cannot be imposed on a people at once. Even the New Testament does not legislate on slavery, it leaves it to be acted on by the general principles of Christianity,—the idea that in Christ there is neither bond nor free, that all alike are children of God and brethren, and the worth of each individual soul,—and these principles have wrought out the emancipation of the slave. Even our Lord felt the necessity of conceding something to the condition of men's minds—"I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now"; and He recognises that certain things in the Old Testament, such as the law of divorce, were a concession to the hardness of men's hearts.

There is a difference between the moral idea and the details of morality, as there is between religion or devotion and the compass of one's creed. Judged by our more extended creed, even David or Isaiah would come short. Their faith, for example, in the Trinity, if they had it at all, would be very far from explicit. Yet we never think of blaming them. But we are slower to apply the same reasoning to morals. But these ancient saints had also the moral idea, and their life corresponded to their idea, at least revelation enjoined that it should. That which they felt to be right they strove to fulfil; and if the details of right doing were less explicit than now, and particularly if it was conduct rather than a state of the mind that was considered, we should hardly on that account call them immoral men.

(2) And this suggests another important consideration. The legislation of the Old Testament was a code made for a state; it was civil and social law. In other words, it was a legislation regulating conduct primarily, and not a law of the mind or the thought. The fact, however, that all law civil and moral was regarded as the command of Jehovah, brought conduct under the religious feeling, and thus made

the law more and more inward, more and more a law of the mind. And in later books, such as Job and many of the Psalms, this is clearly apparent. In the 31st chapter, which shows the high-water mark of Old Testament morality, Job repudiates not only wrong external actions, but also those inordinate motions of the mind and heart which Christianity condemns. But in the New Testament the state idea disappears, and the idea of the individual takes its place. The Sermon on the Mount is not a law of conduct, but a law of the mind, and its principle is love to all around. What might be called justice is sublimed into something higher. What might be called personal rights are abrogated, at least the individual is invited to hold them in abeyance. God is his example, who makes His sun to shine on the evil and the good. But such a principle as this is only for the individual who can rule himself by it; such a principle could not be made the law of a state or civil organism. No Christian state has attempted to embody such a principle in its legal code. The principle indeed is the antithesis and the abrogation of law. It is a rule for the individual, free to renounce what might be called personal rights, and rule himself by the principle of love—"I say unto you, that ye resist not evil."

Now this national, state character of Hebrew law is often forgotten, and the Old Testament is contrasted with the teaching of our Lord, to the detriment of the former, and His authority is even invoked for making the contrast —"Ye have heard that it has been said to them of old time, an eye for an eye; but I say unto you." It is not quite clear who it is that He refers to in the words *it has been said*—who it is that said it. Considering our Lord's habitual deference to the Old Testament, one may be pardoned for doubting any reference to Moses, as if He opposed His own authority to his. It is probably not to Mosaic law that He opposes His own, it is to the interpreta-

tions of Mosaic law current among the doctors of His day. It is the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, to which He opposes a righteousness which exceeds it. These teachers made the law a mere rule of external conduct, He showed it to be a law of the mind. However this be, the law an eye for an eye is part of the state law of Israel, administered by the judicature. It was not a law giving sanction to private revenge. In Deuteronomy xix. 17 it is said, when one man has a complaint against another: "Both the men shall stand before the priests and judges, and they shall make diligent inquiry, and thine eye shall not spare: life shall go for life, eye for eye." Such a law is but the simplest expression of justice, and it is common to all primitive peoples; it may be rude, but unjust or immoral it cannot be called. And the principle that law in the Old Testament was, under one aspect, state law has a hundred ramifications. The whole of the Old Testament is coloured by nationality. Even in later times, though Israel was no more an autonomous state, it continued to be a distinct people or nation, and this consciousness had always great influence upon the thoughts and words even of pious minds. The person or personality who imprecates God's judgments in the Psalms is the community, and the personality on whom they are imprecated is often heathen persecuting powers or apostate parties, traitors both to God and His people. It is doubtful if anywhere there be imprecation by an individual against another individual. The introduction of the idea of nationality complicates the question of conduct, as Christians whose country is at war with another country feel. Is it wrong to pray for victory to their country's arms seeing victory implies the defeat and destruction of the enemy? At any rate Old Testament morality must be taken as a whole. One may not be able to open the page anywhere that happens to find a perfect morality any more than a perfect religion. But in both

respects, along with things said, along with the degree reached, there must always be observed the *tendency* manifested to move forward to what is more perfect.

ii. On the other point, the historical character of the early narratives, there is room to say but little. It is to be observed how small a part of the Old Testament is involved in the question. But here the plain fact, which it did not need criticism to reveal, is that the early history was not written by contemporaries of the events recorded, but by writers living many hundred years later. Apart, therefore, from theories about Scripture, what view of these narratives does the nature of the case suggest?

Now we may ask, Who were the writers of the primitive history? on what principles did they write? and with what aims? The writers of the history were prophetic men, who wrote with the same principles that animated the prophets, and for the same ends as they pursued. All Hebrew history, not only the primitive, but the later, is written from one point of view, the two presuppositions being that God is in all history of mankind, that He is the one Causality, and His communication of Himself to men the source of all good in them; and that He has from the beginning a purpose to found a perfect kingdom of God upon the earth. God rules the history; it is He that makes history; and this is at once the explanation of it, and the reason for recording it. It is not written for the sake of the mere events, but for the sake of their meaning. History is written in order to display the religious philosophy of the history.

Now this being the view of history, the prophet's eye might see more and other things in it than the ordinary eye. He always saw God in it, and His redemptive movement on from more to more, and he might see the end in the beginning in a way not understood even by the original actors. For how differently do the events of the life and

the history of a person look to him when he places them in the light of God's special providence with him, and judges them from some advanced point in his experience. In so judging he does not import anything into the past, he merely interprets it. No doubt such a person, looking back over his life, might colour its early part with some hues from his riper experience; and the prophetic writer may have reflected back on the early history something of the light amidst which he himself stood. This is a possibility which must be admitted in every case. Still one must assume a continuity even in the individual life, and much more in the religious life of Israel, and the principles of the prophetic age were the fruit of the seed sown in the age of the patriarchs and the time of the Exodus.

The tendency of Hebrew writers to throw back the development attained in their own day into the most distant past is greatly insisted on by modern scholars, and to a certain degree justly. The writers are thus in some measure false to history. But, on the other hand, they are true to the purpose of God and His operation. He is the first and the last; He inaugurates and He consummates. From the beginning He sees the end, and His thought embraces it. The first movement contains in it the perfect issue; the crescent by necessity broadens into the full orb. The Priests' Code contains one of the most conspicuous of these retrojections. In this writing there are some laws whose written form is probably almost as old as anything in Scripture. Other laws were committed to writing all down the history, and some may have been written only after the exile, when the whole was codified. But the writer who codified the laws has thrown a general conception over the whole. In his day the *sacra* of Israel had reached the end of their historical development. The idea of the sacred institutions was Jehovah dwelling among His people and sanctifying them by His presence. This idea was realized

in His house, and the institutions connected with it. In the author's day the idea had received perfect embodiment; and this perfect embodiment, though historically all the ages of Israel's life had been contributing to its growth, he throws back to the day of its birth in the wilderness. The acorn sown by Moses had become a great tree, and the tree is transplanted back to the time of sowing the seed.

But this tendency to see the end in the beginning, to overlook actual history, and to locate all in the mind of God, is not peculiar to the Old Testament. It dominates the New Testament also. St. Paul discovers Christ and Christianity in the Abrahamic covenant, and beyond the side institution of Law there is in principle nothing else in all the religious history of Israel. The author of the Hebrews says that Moses endured "the reproach of Christ," that the patriarchs sought the heavenly country, and that the saints' everlasting rest was offered to Israel in the wilderness. More than that: he says that Christianity is eternal, just as it shall be everlasting, and that all else is only this, that the true heavenly things of which it consists thrust themselves forward on to this bank and shoal of time, and took cosmical embodiment in order to suggest their coming everlasting manifestation. The whole apostolic exegesis of the Old Testament is but an application of the principle of finding the end in the beginning. The end was Christ and Christianity. He who spoke in the Old Testament was God, and from the first that which He spoke about was the consummation which filled His thought.

The tendency to retroject is greatly the result of a religious idea, the idea that revelation and redemptive history is but the clothing of Divine thoughts; the true arena of it all is the Divine mind, and it is this arena into which the writer delights to ascend. A most instructive passage in this view is the 11th chapter of Romans. But though the tendency to throw back the present into the past be

a peculiarity of Hebrew writers, there is risk of misusing the principle in exegesis. The promise to Abraham that his seed should inherit the land need not be a reflection back into Abraham's time of the fact that Israel did possess the land and that it owed the possession to God, for undoubtedly the Hebrews were in Canaan, and particularly in its southern region, before their migration to Egypt, and Canaan seemed to them their natural goal immediately on their deliverance. And much else of the same kind might be cited.

With regard to the early history, what has been said has to be remembered, viz., the religious use which the oldest writers make of it. The early history is their Bible, in which they find the texts for their homilies. The early history was current long before it was written. The oldest writers did not invent the stories the moral of which they point. The stories came to them in the form of traditions living among the people. They transcribe a national history, long written on the consciousness of the people. And it is not one writer who does so, but many, both in the north and in the south. Scholars have been able to trace out certain early documents in the Pentateuch, but these documents probably embrace many earlier efforts. Just as many took in hand to set forth the sayings and miracles of Christ, so many all over the nation of Israel set forth the *magnalia Dei* in its history. A nation does not forget. But neither does it remember accurately. The events are remembered for their significance. The conception of what the history meant is born, and the *idea* is creative, and instinctively fashions a perfect body for itself. That the early history of Israel is a perfectly accurate record of bare facts need not be supposed. The body is more than the raiment, and the idea more than the fact. Nevertheless it was the fact or event that suggested the idea, though the idea, once born, with vital energy transformed details in

order perfectly to express itself. But whatever may be the case with details of the history, its great significant turning-points may be regarded as certain. Yet it is strange how ignorant the Bible leaves us of the early history of mankind; we sometimes feel like orphans, hardly knowing anything of our birth or parentage. It is of God, not of men, that the Bible speaks. It begins by showing us His hand in the creation of all things. From creation to the Exodus it gives us a few signal illustrations of His moral rule of the world. But what a broad world of mankind is hardly referred to! What a human vitality and energy during four or five millenniums is passed over in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, as if it deserved no mention! Only one thing it tells us—that God has been in the history of mankind from the beginning.

Attempts to give a definition of Scripture may be regarded as futile. Our Catechism asks, What do the Scriptures *teach*? The systematic theologian regards revelation as "the delivery of doctrine"—revelation meaning the communication from an intellectual Divine mind to an intellectual and otherwise empty human mind of some abstract and universally valid religious idea. Such catechetical and systematic uses of the Old Testament may be quite legitimate, but they fail to correspond to its idea. They omit the historical, which is of the essence of the Old Testament. They omit also the personally religious in the writers, which is also of its essence. In a word, they omit this, that the Old Testament was religious experience before it became Scripture. And it is this experience, or the human mind with this experience, not merely intellectual, but as broad as the mind itself, which is the thing we should like to see, because it is in each instance an example of that ineffable coalescence of the Divine mind with the human all through history, which is the only thing of importance, whether in past ages or at the present time. We cannot

get this, but Scripture is more than a record of it; it is a reflection of it, an expression of it. It is precarious even to draw a distinction between its thoughts and its words, for the Oriental thought in words. Now the aim of historical exegesis is to read the Old Testament in its various parts in the historical circumstances and conditions of men's minds in which it originated, just that we may trace God's historical fellowship with mankind. Criticism is part of historical exegesis. Criticism is the effort of exegesis to be historical. The effort can never be more than partially successful. But though there may be many failures, the idea of historical exegesis is valuable, because it gives us the right idea of Scripture, which is the reflection of the presence of the living God in human history. Historical exegesis strives to unite all the lights emanating from this presence: Abraham in his call, Jacob at Bethel, Moses at the bush, the vision of Isaiah, the piety of Jeremiah and the Psalmists—to dispose all these points of light in one great line of light running down all history, the track of the presence of the living God in the life of mankind.

A. B. Davidson.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. Introductory.

In the following notes it will be necessary from time to time to refer to the writer's *Historical Commentary on the Epistles to the Galatians*. It would be absurd to say again anything that is sufficiently said there, and the method which was gradually developed in the writing of that commentary will here be presumed from the outset. The same chronology also will here be assumed: this is not the place to discuss again the old questions that have already been sufficiently treated. Without desiring to force opinions on others, we have to assume the system which we think probable in points that lie outside of, but close around, our present subject.

It must also be clearly understood that, where theological or doctrinal points are touched upon, that is not done for their own sake, but for the sake of historical facts underlying them. The present writer has neither qualification nor wish to write on such points; but it is sometimes important to establish a date or some other part of history in connection with them.

Our main purpose is to estimate the light thrown by the Epistles on the state of Corinth in the first century after Christ. Here we have a Roman *Colonia* in the heart of Greece, capital of a Roman province, commercial and administrative capital of the whole country of Greece, containing a certain proportion of Roman population, descendants of the Italian colonists of 46 B.C., and a much larger proportion of purely Greek population. What can we learn about society in that great, and wealthy, and luxurious city on the great highway of imperial communication, a meeting-place of many roads, thronged always by travellers and by resident strangers in addition to its own proper citizens?

II. The Contrast between *Galatians* and *Corinthians*.

The Epistles to the Galatians and to the Corinthians were written at a short interval from one another. There is no reason to think that there was any change of the slightest importance in Paul's plans and methods during the interval. It is not as in the interval between *Thessalonians* and *Galatians*: during that interval, shorter though it was, there is good reason to think that Paul attained clearer consciousness about his method and order of placing his Gospel before the Roman world: his Gospel remained the same, but his plans for appealing to the Gentile world had become more fixed and definite.[1] But, on the contrary, between *Galatians* and *First Corinthians*, there is no ground for imagining that Paul's views and method had altered a jot. Yet, amid a general agreement in the point of view, how profound is the difference between the two Epistles!

The reason for this difference lies partly in the different character of the races addressed, and partly in the varying dangers to which they were respectively exposed.

The people of Galatian Phrygia and Galatian Lycaonia were essentially an Oriental race, with an admixture of the western element strong enough to serve as a model and a stimulus to the native population, and thus to affect them greatly, but not strong enough to change radically the people, or to eliminate the Oriental spirit, but rather destined to melt into the native element.

The people of Corinth were a typically European people, familiar with every device and invention of an over-stimulated civilization, essentially a worldly and material set of persons, seeking money and pleasure and success, excellent representatives of the worst side of rich "civilized" society, with little of the highest elements of Græco-Roman civilization.

In Galatia Paul had to deal with a somewhat backward

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 260.

race, but one recently touched and stimulated by contact with Greek art and literature, and with Roman organization and practical skill, a race naturally rather slow, simple, readily disposed to admire the bold and confident and educated foreigner. In Corinth he addressed himself to a people of diametrically opposite type, among whom a too prematurely developed civilization was entirely divorced from morality, a people keen-witted, pushing, self-assertive, conceited, highly trained, criticising all men, questioning all things, not apt to believe in anything or anybody.

True religion has to steer a course equally far removed from the barbarism of primitive savagery and the barbarism of precocious material civilization. Christianity found the Galatians on their way up out of the former, and the Corinthians far on their way down into the latter.

Hence the contrast in many respects between the respective letters. Paul uses the tone of authority with the Galatians, of compliment and reasoned argument (though claiming official authority) with the Corinthians: he urges on the naturally self-willed Greeks the virtue of obedience, and on the "slavish" Phrygians the importance of freedom; he bids the Corinthians punish the violation of law, and warns the naturally "unpitying" Phrygians not to be too severe in punishing transgression. He loves the Galatians: he esteems the Corinthians.

Again, we observe everywhere that the difficulties and dangers besetting those early Gentile Churches belong mostly to one or other of two classes: they spring either from the influence exercised by Judaism, or from the influence of Pagan society and surroundings and early training. Every one of the Pauline Churches was exposed to both kinds of danger; none were wholly free from either influence. But some were exposed more to the one kind, some to the other.

Among the Galatic Phrygians we saw that, when Paul

wrote to them, the great and pressing danger lay on the side of Judaism: a part, apparently a majority, of the Galatian congregations were inclined to adopt the Jewish ritual. But that imminent danger did not blind Paul to the other danger that was equally pressing on them; and part of the later chapters is devoted to the dangerous influence of Pagan society and religion and education.

In Corinth it was precisely the opposite. Paul's special purpose was to ward off the forces of Paganism—chiefly in education and society—which threatened to unbalance and unhinge the constitution and morality of the Church. Yet Judaism was also able to exert a dangerous influence in Corinth, and he had to turn his attention to that side also, especially in the second Epistle.

But the grand difference between *Galatians* and *Corinthians* lies in the general character of the thought. The Galatian letter, when properly read, is found to be full of allusions to the practical facts of society and life, though from North-Galatian misapprehension these facts are little noticed by the commentators. Paul explains to the readers his position and doctrines, and his attitude towards opponents, by illustrations drawn from the sphere of practical life. From that short letter we can restore at least some outline of the system of family law, of inheritance, of the external organization of education, of city life, and so on, familiar to Paul's Galatian readers. The attention of his readers must have been, naturally, turned more to that side of things; and Paul takes advantage of their special interests to put his ideas before them and to rouse in them the emotions and recollections which he desires.

In the Corinthian letters it is very different. A Historical Commentary finds much less to seize upon in them. They largely treat difficulties in practical life, and yet these are discussed from the speculative, philosophic, thinking side. Illustrations drawn from the external side of social organi-

zation are rare. Even where questions of society are referred to Paul's decision he judges them so purely on general moral principles that we learn little about specially Corinthian society.

Here, again, we see the contrast between the Phrygian people, with its Oriental cast of mind, and the Greek race. This may seem strange and even self-contradictory to some, who have not lived among these races, for business, trade, skilled workmanship, would seem to be the inheritance of the Greeks as contrasted with the Orientals—now and always. But one that comes in close contact with the Oriental villagers learns how entirely wrapped up they are in the matters of material life. You need never talk to them of ideal motives; they can neither conceive them nor believe in them. They know of no motive for action except a material one (apart from religious enthusiasm). But amid a group of the humblest Greek villagers, you are safe to talk of ideals, and you readily enlist their interest in them: in fact, unless you take them on this side, you will never succeed with them.

We have once more to repeat the remark that the right interpretation of Paul's Epistles—*Romans* being a partial exception—must be founded on a vivid conception of the contrast between the Greek and the Oriental character, and of the eternal conflict between the two, which has always been going on in Asia Minor, and is now being waged there in a more marked and acute, and therefore more easily intelligible, form than at any previous time except during the early centuries of the Empire. The two periods of acute conflict in that land, when the natural forces of society are struggling towards the establishment of a balance between themselves, and the realization of a higher form of expression, have been about B.C. 25–A.D. 200, and since A.D. 1878.[1] The two periods ought to be always

[1] In order to show that this is not a mere random statement springing out

together in the student's mind; and we read in Paul's Epistles to the Churches the outlines of the ideal reconciliation between the Greek and Oriental nature in the borderlands, as he explained it to each in the way that they could most easily apprehend.

It is often asserted that a description of the Corinthian Church is given in i. 26. That view we cannot accept. The context plainly shows that the verse is to be taken as a description of the Christian Church in general, rather in contrast to rich, clever Corinth; see § VIII.

III. Paul's Attitude to Judaism.

A word is here required about Paul's attitude towards Judaism. It is absolutely necessary to bear in mind, though many are too apt to forget, that Paul was not an opponent of true Judaism. He could say to the end of his life with perfect truth and with a clear conscience, "I am a Pharisee, and a son of Pharisees," and assert that he was "as touching the Law blameless." He held fast to all the spiritual side of the Law; he fully appreciated its moral elevation; he was (as we hope to show more fully elsewhere) throughout his life the great champion of the true Law in the Roman Empire, and a firm believer in its ultimate triumph over the Empire. But he hated the formalism, the dead works, of the Law; and he fervently believed that in the Law nothing except its formalism was opposed to Christ, and that, when the Law was set up as an opponent of Christianity among the Gentiles, the life had gone from it; it could not resist Him and live. When we read some of the harsh things said about the Law, for example, to the Galatians, we are apt to lose sight of the fact that Paul is there speaking of the Law as it appeared to the Galatians

of the attempt to illustrate the Epistles, we may be permitted to add that the main thought and intention in the writer's *Impressions of Turkey* is to illustrate this principle in detail.

—as a series of hard and fast rules of ritual, as a system of observing days and months and seasons and years, as identified with belief in the moral efficacy of physical and bodily ceremonies. Paul would not even desire to abolish the mere ritual of Judaism; his action to Timothy, difficult as it is for us to sympathize with, proves that he would retain it. Only the most heartless and unprincipled of impostors could have acted as Paul did to Timothy, unless he were fully persuaded that the Jew must be always a Jew in the fullest sense, that he is always "a debtor to do the whole Law." But Paul would prevent the Gentiles from incurring that debt.

It is not here the place to dilate more on this topic, still less to debate whether Paul was always philosophically consistent in his attitude to Judaism. But it is urgently necessary to protest against the too common exaggeration of Paul's hostility to Judaism. He certainly believed that he was the true friend and champion of his nation and his father's religion, and that his words addressed to the Sanhedrin were entirely consistent with his words addressed to the Galatians.

IV. The Opening Address (i. 1–9).

We can now better appreciate the special characteristics of the opening verses of the Epistle. We take together the introductory address—the heading of the letter, so to speak (i. 1–3)—and the opening paragraph (i. 4–9).

Much in them belongs to the ordinary forms of politeness in letter-writing: it was necessary and invariable to state at the beginning the names of the writer or writers and of the recipients of the letter, along with some courteous greeting and good wishes: titles were commonly added to the respective names by the Romans (who were, to a large extent, the inventors of titles): then followed regularly an invocation or an expression of thanks to the

Divine power. In cases of haste or in unusual circumstances some of these polite accompaniments were often omitted.

Paul adopted the ordinary forms of epistolary courtesy, with similar occasional omission of some of the forms in special circumstances; only he gave a Christian expression to the titles and sentiments. On the subject see the remarks and references in *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, § V. Here we need only notice any details that are special to the Corinthian letter. These are three:

1. Sosthenes is named as joint author of the letter. It has been pointed out that[1] the occurrence of a name in the superscription of any of Paul's letters, attaches far more importance to the person so mentioned than the sending of greetings from him at the end of the letter. It is extraordinary that this so obvious truth has been disputed. The case is exactly as when we find the superscription in a Roman letter:[2]

Balbus et Oppius salutem dicunt M. Ciceroni.

Both Balbus and Oppius take responsibility for the contents and sentiments of the letter, though probably one of them alone is responsible for the exact language. So Hellmuth points out with regard to the above letter, showing that Balbus is the author, and Oppius merely the joint-author.[3] So we have pointed out with regard to such letters as this.[4] Canon Evans has also stated the point with perfect accuracy and clearness in his admirable *Commentary on 1 Corinthians* (to which I am more indebted than to any other work on this Epistle): "his name is

[1] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, § II. [2] Cicero, *Epist. ad Att.*, IX. 7A.

[3] Hellmuth, *Sprache d. Epistologr. Galba u. Balbus*, p. 30. He says, *daraus schliesse ich dass Balbus der alleinige Verfasser des Briefes ist, und dass Oppius seinen Namen nur beifügte, um seine Zustimmung zu dem Inhalte der Worte zu erklären.*

[4] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, § II. p. 238.

associated to show that he shares, if not in the Epistle" [*i.e.*, presumably, its composition], "at least in the views and counsels contained therein, and indorses them."

The superscription of the Epistle is lengthened by titles and epithets from the simple form, which would be

Paulus et Sosthenes Corinthiis salutem dicunt.

But the bare technical simplicity of Roman usage was alien to the warm and emotional nature of Paul.

2. He associates with the Corinthians "all that in every place call on Christ Jesus our Lord." The question has been much debated why this addition is made to the common type of introductory Pauline formulæ, and many varying opinions have been maintained. On our principles of interpretation there can be no hesitation. The words stand in close relation to the burden of the letter. The Corinthians are in the process of losing unity. They have not yet split into religious parties and schisms; but Paul sees that the process has begun, which, if unchecked, must result in that; and a great object of the Epistle is to stop the process in its beginning. Hence he refers to the unity of the entire body of Christians.

A very similar thought occurs in the famous epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, written about A.D. 192 as a protest against the Montanist schism. The Phrygian Saint lays great stress on the unity in feeling and practice which he had found prevailing everywhere from Rome to Mesopotamia.[1]

3. Paul compliments the Corinthians on their knowledge of truth and their ability to express it: "that you, namely, were in every way enriched in him, in all skill of discourse or argument, and in all kind of intelligence," as Canon Evans renders the words.

[1] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Pt. II. pp. 711, 723.

Gnosis, which is here the Divine gift to the Corinthians, is apparently distinguished from *Sophia* (which is spoken of so frequently in the Epistle). *Gnosis* is the apprehension of the truth, *i.e.* knowledge united with moral power to carry it into action. *Sophia* is the empty and powerless wisdom of mere verbal philosophy: add an idea, and you have the true Sophia of God, which Paul so often mentions.

Considering how severely Paul is about to inveigh against philosophy, and considering the character and interests of the Corinthian Greeks, it was peculiarly important to compliment them in this way at the outset. They have the true knowledge, and are advancing in it: why should they spend time and energy in empty philosophizing? The importance of this will become clearer in the sequel.

V. The Parties in the Corinthian Church.

It is declared by the Apostle that in Corinth "every one of you saith 'I am of Paul,' and 'I of Apollos,' and 'I of Cephas,' and 'I of Christ.'" The attempt has been made by many commentators to specify the character of four supposed parties which used these four expressions as signs and badges of their respective views; but it may be doubted if the attempt has been made on the proper lines, or if it can be successful. Especially, as Alford says, "the German commentators are misled by too *definite* a view of the Corinthian parties," p. 464; and "much ingenuity and labour have been spent in Germany on the four supposed distinct parties at Corinth, and the most eminent theologians have endeavoured, with very different results, to allot to each its definite place in tenets and practice," p. [45]. Such attempts are on a radically false principle.

Let us rather attempt to determine in what way Paul conceived that the divisions arose. This he shows very clearly.

Perhaps the most obvious quality in the Greek race is its

disposition to criticise and to argue. Paul makes it clear that the Corinthians had been fond of criticising their teachers, of comparing them with each other, of discussing all their qualities and characteristics, of arguing about them.

Out of this quality arises factiousness: those who compared Paul favourably with Apollos joined battle with those who exalted the style of Apollos above that of Paul; and gradually the rival disputants were forming themselves almost unconsciously into factions, just as in later times the admirers of rival colours in the circus formed themselves into hostile parties. That is the fault which Paul regards as the fundamental evil in the Corinthian Church, and sets himself at once to combat.

Hence he begins (i. 10) by beseeching them all to speak the same thing, to have the same mind and the same judgment, *i.e.* to be on their guard against the tendency to argue, to dispute, to see always the difference in their neighbours' views and remarks from their own, and never to have sufficient perception of the agreement between them. As they discussed and criticised the teaching of their teachers, they almost came to maintain that Christ, as expounded by Paul, was different from Christ, as expounded by Apollos or by Peter, and that all three expositions of the Christ differed from the true idea of Christ.

It is obvious that Paul has in his mind a similar thought to that which is stated in *Galatians* i. 6, 7, where he speaks of the "other gospel" preached by the Judaistic emissaries in Galatia: there he maintains [1] that, while the gospel set forth by the older and leading Apostles may be called

[1] Such is the interpetation of that difficult passage advocated in *Historical Comm. Gal.* p. 265. I should now say that that interpretation gives the thought which was implicit in the mind of Paul, but which was not expressed by him explicitly to the Galatians, though now it is fully stated to the Corinthians. The interpretation of the American Revisers, towards which, on p. 264, I indicated a leaning, must be adopted: it contains in embryo the same thought which is matured in this passage of 1 *Corinthians*.

"another gospel," it is practically identical with his, except when it is perverted by the errors of their would-be followers. We see elsewhere the evidence of the presence in Paul's mind of an idea that the Corinthians were too prone to see in the teaching of his successors "another Jesus" and "another gospel" from his (see 2 *Cor.* xi. 4).

But, as Paul declares (i. 13), Christ cannot be made into shares in that way, *i.e.* it is the one identical Christ whom Paul and Apollos and Peter preach. If you consider that they set before you different Christs, then you are making Paul or Apollos or Cephas your Saviour, and (if one may say so) believing that your special favourite, whether Paul or one of the others,[1] is your crucified Redeemer. The absurdity of their position is set forth in the indignantly ironical questions of i. 13, which are given as sufficient disproof. As soon as the Corinthians cease to say the same thing, and dwell on their differences of opinion, they go astray and "pervert the gospel" (as it is expressed in *Galatians* i. 7).

The third of these ironical questions is remarkable—"Were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" This is co-ordinated with the other, "Was Paul crucified for you?" The Saviour's death for them, and their reception by baptism into the Name, are selected as the two great facts. The impossibility and absurdity of any teacher being put in Christ's place in these two relations is taken as too patent to need words. It is certainly a noteworthy point that these two ideas should be, as it were, bracketed together; but the importance lies in a direction foreign to our purpose and subject.

[1] Of course in i. 13 we must understand that in the question "Was Paul crucified for you?" we have to take Paul merely as the first of the list, and to add in thought the others—"Was Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, crucified for you?"

VI. The Digression on Baptism.

Here, in a very characteristic way, the allusion to baptism suggests to Paul a digression. He had rarely taken part in this office. He had baptized none of the Corinthians except Crispus and Gaius—Crispus, the former ruler of the synagogue in Corinth; and Gaius, who was deputed by the Church to entertain all guests (a highly honourable duty in eastern lands, delegated to some distinguished member of the community). And then he recollects, as an afterthought, that Stephanas and his household were also baptized by him—perhaps Stephanas, who was with him in Ephesus as he wrote, reminded him—and so, to guard against any possible slip of memory, he adds, "Besides, I know not whether I baptized any other"; but, if so, they were an insignificant number.

The rite of baptism Paul did not count as part of his work. There are diversities of gifts and ministrations, but all come from the same source (xii. 4 ff.): "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." Paul delegated this duty to his assistants and companions. He now expresses thanks to God that it had been so ordered that he had as a rule delegated to others this duty—a duty so important that his own performance of it might have caused misapprehension among the Corinthians.

W. M. Ramsay.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

I. The Bible of the Gentiles.

The Old Testament is the treasure of the Israelites, but other races have utilized it more than they. The same talent which committed to the Jews produced little, having been committed to the nations of Europe and Asia has produced much. Gentiles have taught the Jews to translate their Bible, to perpetuate its pronunciation, to comment on its matter and language, and to codify its precepts; if the Gentiles would have had no Bible save for the Jews, the Jews but for the Gentiles would have had no literature besides. By communicating their treasure to the world, the Israelites have thus gained more than if they had succeeded in keeping it to themselves.

The first translation of the Bible into another language is associated with the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose reign lasted from 285 to 247 B.C. The LXX. translation is stated by both Greek and Hebrew writers to have been executed by his order; the ancient Calendar of the Synagogue [1] commemorated the undertaking by a fast-day; whereas, if we may believe Josephus, King Ptolemy himself celebrated it by a feast-day. Let us endeavour to get some idea of the occasion which led to the introduction of Jewish literature into the Hellene world.

Of the poets who flattered Ptolemy Philadelphus the idyllist Theocritus has always enjoyed a large share of popularity. This writer's Greek is frequently of a sort which makes it difficult to believe that Greek was his native language; [2] and the information which we possess

[1] *Feasts of the Jews*, No. 13. (To be published this year.)

[2] The native language of Theocritus must have been Hebrew or Syriac, for he cannot distinguish between *daughter-in-law* and *bride*, just as the LXX. cannot; xviii. 15, τεὰ νυὸς ἅδε could only mean "This is thy daughter-in-

concerning his birth and domestic history seems mainly to be based on statements of his own, not all of which are intended to be serious. Several of his Idylls, however, can be accurately dated, whence he is a valuable witness. In Idyll xvi., which is of the year 270 B.C., or thereabout, he observes (line 40) that certain princes had got no good out of their wealth "when once they had *emptied out* their sweet soul into the broad raft of the grim old man (Charon)." To "empty out"[1] one's soul is, of course, incorrect and absurd Greek, but a very tolerable Hebraism for "to spill" or "to pour out"; since the old Semitic verb[2] which means "to shed" or "to pour," is in Hebrew confused with a word meaning "empty," whence the verb gets the double sense. We can, moreover, trace this Hebraism to its source. That is the third verse of the Song of Solomon, where the LXX. has "Thy name is like ointment emptied out" (with the same compound verb as is here employed by Theocritus) for "poured out."[3] Now identity of mistake is regarded as important evidence in law when questions of infringement of copyright are discussed. We see that Theocritus has mistaken the sense of this Greek verb in the same way in which the LXX. translator of the Song of Solomon has mistaken it; but the LXX. translator's mistake is due to the fact that he is translating from Hebrew, which is not the case with Theocritus. Unless, therefore, Theocritus be himself the translator of the Song of Solomon, there is a strong presumption that in Idyll xvi. 40 he was misled by

law"; and it is even doubtful whether xv. 77 would be tolerable, though doubtless "*the* daughter-in-law" could be said in lieu of "the bride." xviii. 49 contains a curious mistake: "Letters shall be written in bark, that the passer-by may read in Doric, 'Reverence me,' etc.," where clearly the words in Doric should be those of the inscription; they are not in Doric, but the Doric verb for *to read* is used! The mistakes in xxii. 2, xv. 129, and xxvi. 29, also betray the foreigner.

[1] ἐκκενοῦν. The mythology seems erroneous.

[2] Arabic *harāḳa*: used of tears in the earliest Arabic we have. [3] תורק.

the usage of the LXX. Song of Solomon; whence we infer that the LXX. Song of Solomon is earlier than 270 B.C. If we find in Theocritus further traces of the influence of the Song of Solomon, this presumption will rise into a certainty.

The most striking of these are to be found in Idyll xviii., the Epithalamium to Helen, a performance which, both from the point of view of language and of taste, contains much that is objectionable. In line 30 Helen is compared (among other things) to a *Thessalian mare in a chariot.* That such a comparison is extraordinary in a Greek poet must strike every one;[1] It struck Vergil, who, though he imitates some of this passage (Ecl. v. 32–4), omits the mare in the chariot. Hence Theocritus must have got it from some non-Greek source; and this is clearly the Song of Solomon, almost at the commencement of which we read (i. 9), "To my *mare* in the *chariots* of Pharaoh do I compare thee, my kinswoman." The word Thessalian is got from an oracle in which it is stated that the best horses are from Thessaly, just as the best women are from Lacedæmon; but the idea of the mare being the pride of the chariot, just as Helen is the pride of the Lacedæmonian women, is from Solomon.

Two comparisons that are more in accordance with Greek taste occur at the commencement of the paragraph: "The rising dawn gives a glimpse of its fair face: the lady moon at night." The word *moon* is introduced by conjecture, but the scholar who introduced it does not seem to have been thinking of the Song of Solomon. These two comparisons are found in the Song in the same order (vi. 9); 'Who is this that peereth forth like the dawn, fair as the moon?"

The theory that *swarthiness produced by sunburning* need

[1] Alcman, in Bergk's *Lyrici Græci*, iii. 39, compares a beauty to a horse among *cattle.*

not be regarded as disfiguring a woman is the subject of some pretty verses in Idyll x. 26–29. A distinguished German commentator compared the Greek "popular song" (as he termed it) "I am swarthy, yet fair." This "popular song" is from the Song of Solomon (i. 5), where it is further explained that the swarthiness is, as in the case of the girl in Theocritus, produced by sunburning.

The picture of foxes munching grapes is one that took Theocritus' fancy, and is found twice in his Idylls (i. 47, v. 112). It seems to be drawn from the Song of Solomon (ii. 15), "Seize for us the little foxes that spoil the vines."

The greater number of the Idylls show much prettiness and wit, but little originality; yet their author is the *founder of a style*—Bucolic Poetry. That Theocritus was the first Bucolic or Pastoral poet is attested by Vergil (Ecl. vi. 1), an excellent authority; and the silence of the Poetics of Aristotle, which was composed but little before the time of Theocritus, bears out Vergil's statement. That this style, in which highly artificial performances are put in the mouths of shepherds and cowherds, should have originated in Greece would be surprising; for the persons who followed those callings were ordinarily slaves, or humble hirelings, whom the classical writers treat with little respect. But from the time of Theocritus their profession becomes associated with the poetic art. The shepherd's clothes are donned by Vergil, Spenser and Milton. The existence of the LXX. translation of the Song of Solomon gives us the explanation of this fact. The Song of Solomon is a Pastoral Poem, but *its pictures are true to nature.* The father of the writer, himself both a king and a poet, had kept sheep. The combination of the court life with country life, which in Theocritus seems so unnatural, was perfectly natural in pre-exilic Palestine. Hence the rich descriptions of the country (ii. 12) beside the glowing descriptions of the king's wealth (iii. 10). Theocritus can match both (Idylls

vii. and xv.), but it may be doubted whether he could have found any Greek model for either.

There is, if I mistake not, a certain trace of another Biblical book in the Idylls of Theocritus. In Idyll xxiv. ("the little Heracles") two verses (86–7) are introduced into an oracle, which are apparently unconnected with their context: "There shall be a day when the ravening wolf shall refrain from harming the fawn, though he see her in her lair." These lines remind us of Isaiah xi. 6, "And the wolf shall feed with the lamb." But what makes it practically certain that the verses are modelled on Isaiah is that the preceding line in Theocritus runs, "Who sent these burrowing monsters (*i.e.* serpents) to harm the babe." Now since, in Isaiah xi., the verse quoted is almost immediately followed by "and the little child shall put its hand on the holes of asps," the connexion in thought becomes intelligible, if we suppose Theocritus to have had the passage of Isaiah either before him or in his mind. For the subject of Idyll xxiv. is "serpents attacking the infant Heracles." The epithet "burrowing" or "living in holes," which he applies to the serpents, is surely suggested by the verse in Isaiah also. Several editors, indeed, regard verses 86 and 87 as interpolated; but this cannot be, since Vergil knew them and imitated them in his Messianic fourth Eclogue.

Since, then, Idyll xxiv. implies that the LXX. translation of Isaiah already existed, it is worth while trying to fix the date of Idyll xxiv. Idyll xvii. was composed before 265 B.C., because the author there glorifies Cos in a way which would have been impossible *after* the defeat sustained by Ptolemy off Cos in that year. But in Idyll xvii. Theocritus speaks of his Praises of the Demigods as well known. One of these may well be Idyll xxii., which deals with Castor and Pollux. The others must be some of the Heraclean collection, *i.e.* xiii., xxiv. and xxv.

But xiii. is later than xxiv., for at the commencement of xiii. there is a reference to the list of Heracles's accomplishments which is given at length in xxiv. The Theocritean authorship of Idyll xxv. is abandoned by most scholars. I am unable to agree with their opinion; but every one must grant that the style is sufficiently different from that of xxii. to mark a different period in the poet's life. On the other hand, Idyll xxiv. belongs to the same period as xxii., for Pindar's Nemean Odes are imitated in both. Therefore Idyll xxiv. is earlier than Idyll xvii., and so is earlier than 265 B.C. Therefore the LXX. translation of Isaiah is earlier than 265 B.C.

A little internal evidence in support of this result is worth extracting. An unusual word for "cup" which occurs in Isaiah li. 17 and 22 is rendered by the foreign word *κόνδυ*. Now on this word there is an interesting article by the archæologer Athenaeus, who quotes for it two authors of the New Comedy, who flourished about the year 320 B.C., *i.e.* within the century in which we suppose the translation of Isaiah to have been made. Since the word appears only to occur in this period, it is probable that these comedians introduced it, that it was in vogue for a short time, and then fell into disuse. Athenaeus's authorities point out that it was an Asiatic (not Egyptian) cup, whence the LXX. translator appears anxious to reproduce the foreign appearance of the word in his text.

The translation of the Pentateuch is certified as Ptolemaic by the intentional avoidance of the Greek word for "hare" (*λαγώς*) in the list of unclean beasts: for the tradition that the king was sensitive about the name of his ancestor Lagos is shown to be true by the fact that Theocritus intentionally alters its quantity: "*Lāgīdas*" (Idyll xvii. 14) is meant to suggest not "hare," but "leader of the people," a far more princely name.

It was desirable to get some external evidence to show

that Ptolemy's translation included all three divisions of the Old Testament; and that evidence has now been produced.

But how came Ptolemy Philadelphus to know of Jewish literature? and what interest had he in procuring a translation of it? These questions can at present be answered hypothetically, but the following hypotheses seem to have some probability.

It is clear that some specimens of a literature have to be translated before it becomes worth while to organize a translation on a large scale. Neither the Song of Solomon nor Isaiah is likely to have been the first Hebrew book rendered into Greek; for neither of these exhibit signs of being specially intended for the Greek market. The whole tendency of translation in antiquity is from the less to the more literal. The work in the whole LXX. which shows the clearest signs of being intended for Greeks is the *Wisdom of Solomon*. That this book is a translation from the Hebrew is absolutely certain. For there is a paragraph in the disquisition on idolatry which this book contains (*c.* xiv.) in the middle of which occur the following sentences: "For that which was *done*[1] shall be punished together with the *doer*;[2] for this reason also there shall be visitation on the idols of the Gentiles" (*vv.* 10–11). Those who are accustomed to think while they read will at once detect a mistranslation here; for how can the thing done be punished apart from the doer? And the source of the mistranslation is easy to find; for the word which in Aramaic means "to do" means in Hebrew "to worship." Hence the original sentence must have meant "for that which is *worshipped* shall be punished together with the *worshipper*"; and from this the next sentence follows logically. And we learn from Josephus that at the time of the LXX. translation Aramaic was better known than Hebrew, though the two languages

[1] πραχθέν. [2] δράσαντι.

were known to be alike; nor need we quote examples of mistakes due to homonymy in the languages, since these are common in the LXX. What, however, takes the reconstruction of the above verses out of the region of probability into that of certainty, is that the original (or a paraphrase of it) is preserved in the Midrash [1] on Genesis xlvii. 49. We are there told that Jacob disliked being buried in Egypt for fear of becoming an object of worship to the Egyptians; "for just as the *worshipper*[2] is to be punished, so also is the *object of his worship*";[3] wherefore it is written, "And on all the gods of Egypt I will execute vengeance" (Exod. xii. 12). But these verses are found in the middle of a paragraph, which is closely reasoned. Therefore the quotation in the Midrash is sufficient to certify a Hebrew original for the whole of the Wisdom of Solomon.

Confirmation of this result meets us everywhere as soon as it has been ascertained. In i. 12, "do not emulate [4] death" is parallel to "do not attract destruction"; clearly "emulate" is a mistranslation for "acquire," as it is in the LXX. of Isaiah xi. 11;[5] this mistranslation is also due to the disappearance in Aramaic of a sense which the Hebrew root retains. In xii. 24, "thinking gods the dishonourable among the beasts of the enemies" is assuredly a mistranslation: for what are beasts of the enemies? The phrase should have been rendered "beasts of prey."[6] In i. 14, "there is in them no venom of destruction, nor reign of Hades on earth," the word "venom" is probably an error for "authority": by the converse error the translator of Ben-Sira says, "There is no head worse than the head of a snake."

The fact that the Wisdom of Solomon is translated from Hebrew is therefore sufficiently certain to be made the basis

[1] See the collections called Rabbah and Tanchuma.
[2] העובד. [3] הנעבד. [4] ζηλοῦτε.
[5] Hebrew תק for תקנאו.
[6] Probably Hebrew השנים (intended for "of the teeth," as in Syriac).

of inferences; if it is not certain, then nothing in the history of literature is certain; and we must date the thought by the language, not the language by the thought.

Three facts strike us about the Greek of this work. First, it is the Greek of an educated foreigner, who is anxious to display his acquaintance with the resources of the classical language. There are not a few happy reminiscences of Greek poets, and adaptations of the technical language of the schools. The translator has done his utmost from this point of view to render the work of the Hebrew writer attractive to Greek readers. Secondly, he resolutely avoids mentioning the names of persons. Instead of speaking of Adam, Noah, Lot, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, he uses allusive expressions, such as "the father of creation," "the just," "the holy prophet." The reason for this is evidently that he does not wish to spoil the appearance of his Greek. The introduction of barbarous words would seriously mar the effect of his eloquence. Thirdly, he scrupulously avoids mentioning *Egypt*. The deliverance from Egyptian bondage is perhaps his chief theme; and the name of Egypt nowhere appears!

From this third fact we may draw two inferences. It is evident, in the first place, that the omission of the name of Egypt is due to the *translator*; for in the verses preserved in the Midrash it is on the gods of *Egypt* that vengeance is threatened, not on the gods of the Gentiles generally. And indeed we learn that Wisdom xiv. 11*a* is a quotation from Exodus xii. 12, brought in to illustrate the paragraph. Now the substitution of the generalizing "nations" for "Egypt" must have a purpose; viz., to avoid offending the Egyptians, for whom the translator was working. He thought (probably with justice) that whereas a threat of vengeance on the idols of the *nations* would escape notice, an attack on the idols of Egypt would ruin Solomon's chance of obtaining popularity in that country. But if he deliberately omitted the proper name in this place, he

probably omitted the proper names deliberately everywhere; and hence an Egyptian might read the book from beginning to end and need never even fancy that his own country was being attacked.

But this fear of offending the Egyptians could only have been felt before any considerable portion of the Old Testament was translated into Greek. For with the deliverance from Egyptian bondage the whole Old Testament rings. Any one who had the most elementary acquaintance with the history of Israel must have heard of the relation of Israel to Egypt. The miraculous deliverance of the Chosen People from that country is the fact in their history which overshadows all others. Now it is worth while concealing a matter only if it is not known. When it is a matter of common knowledge, it is taken for granted. People become callous about it. Hence the Wisdom of Solomon must have been translated into Greek before any considerable portion of the Old Testament was known to the Egyptians. And since the translator has done his utmost to give the Greeks a favourable impression of the literature of the Hebrews, we are justified in concluding that this was the first Hebrew work translated into Greek.

A little external evidence would be desirable to support this result, and this we have in the LXX. of Isaiah iii. 10. The Hebrew has there, "Say of the righteous, It is well: for they shall eat the fruit of their works; Woe to the wicked, it is ill." For the first of these sentences the LXX. has "Saying: Let us bind the righteous, for he is grievous unto us." It is very clear that the LXX. can here make no claim to represent the original; the correctness of the Hebrew is certified by the antithesis. The word "bind," moreover, seems a mistranslation of the Hebrew "say," resulting from the similarity in some scripts of the letters M and S.[1] But the wilful substitution of

[1] אסר and אמר. For the insertion of the word "saying" compare viii. 17.

"grievous" for "well" or "good" requires further explanation: and this is to be found in Wisdom ii. 12, where, in the middle of a discourse which is put into the mouth of the wicked, occur the words, "*Let us waylay the righteous, for he is grievous unto us,* and opposes our works, and taunts us with transgression of the Law." The discourse in Wisdom bears considerable resemblance to that in Proverbs i. 11, where the word for "let us waylay" occurs; it bears none to the passage of Isaiah. Hence it seems clear that the LXX. translator of Isaiah, having by a misreading substituted "bind the righteous" for "say of the righteous," *interpolated* the rest of the passage from the discourse in Wisdom, which he remembered. But in that case the LXX. translation of Wisdom must have existed before the translation of Isaiah.

We are justified in assuming that the translator of Isaiah would alter his text on account of a reminiscence, because he does so elsewhere. In xlv. 9, where he finds curious difficulty in translating, he inserts a clause "shall the plougher plough the ground the whole day?" from xxviii. 24, because the consonants of xlv. 9 bear some resemblance to those of the other verse. Likewise in lxv. 4, where the text has "they pass the night in caves" he adds *for the sake of dreams,* undoubtedly with a reference to the Greek cave-oracles, of one of which Plutarch gives us a vivid description. Hence in the preceding verse, where the original has "they offer incense on the bricks" and the translator adds *to the demons who are not,* it seems reasonable to see a reminiscence of Wisdom xiv. 13, where we are told distinctly of the idols that "they were not from the beginning, nor ever shall be." A much clearer reminiscence of Wisdom occurs in xxxv. 6: "Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shout." The word here rendered "shout" [1] is a favourite word with

[1] רנן, τραυάς.

Isaiah, and is ordinarily represented correctly by the LXX. translator: why then here does he render "the tongue of the dumb shall be *clear*"—using for "clear" a word that is found nowhere else in the canonical LXX.? It is clearly a reminiscence of Wisdom x. 21, "Wisdom has made *clear* the tongues of the speechless." It would seem that the jingle of the Hebrew word in Isaiah with the Greek word used in Wisdom was what suggested this inaccurate but elegant rendering.

Wisdom can scarcely have failed to win a favourable reception at Alexandria. The language employed by writers at Ptolemy's court was very similar in character to that which this translation exhibits. It is very far removed from Attic simplicity; but it is rich, learned, and melodious. Morover the brilliancy of the thought is but little tarnished by the faults of the style. Many of the themes handled are such as may be relied on to evoke warm approval from any fairly educated audience.

I am inclined to find a trace of the Wisdom of Solomon in certain lines of Lucretius, who lived at a time when Alexandrian literature was greatly admired in Italy, and who may possibly have used the Wisdom of Solomon at second hand. "Men often," he says (iii. 912), "when seated at banquets holding cups in their hands, and with their brows shaded with crowns, say bitterly: 'This enjoyment is of brief duration for us poor mortals; soon it will be past and beyond recall.'" The four ideas of the banqueters, with cups in their hands, and crowns on their brows, saying that life is short, all recur in the fine passage of Wisdom ii. 2, and 7, 8: "They say in themselves, reasoning falsely, 'Our life is short and grievous; presently we shall be as though we had not been. Come, then, let us enjoy our present goods; let us be filled with rare wine and ointment; let us crown ourselves with rose-blossoms before they fade.'"

We may suppose, then, that the success which attended this translation led to the rendering into Greek of another work by Solomon. This would naturally be the Song of Songs, the matter of which, being erotic, would be suitable to Alexandrian taste; for with the Alexandrines love was a favourite theme. Assuredly the translator made a fortunate choice; for the form of love which this book *appears* to glorify is of a sort which would give it a peculiar interest to Ptolemy *Philadelphus*. His marriage with his sister Arsinoë deeply offended Greek sentiment; Sotades earned a martyr's crown by publicly rebuking the king for it. Now in the Song of Solomon the bridegroom seems to be a king, and the very king to whom the noble philosophy of the Wisdom of Solomon is ascribed; and he and the bride repeatedly call each other *brother*[1] and *sister*. Apparently, in order that there may be no mistake, "my kinswoman" is substituted sometimes for "sister." Of course in the Hebrew these words are used with the most harmless intent; for among Oriental peoples a husband calls his wife "my sister" or "my cousin." But this was not a Greek custom; the matrimonial relation was so very distinct from the erotic relation that the forms of address between husband and wife were far more cold and respectful; and in the ode of Callimachus in honour of the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoë the poet is careful to state that Arsinoë's love for her husband was due to the fact that he was her brother! Since we have seen that Theocritus's acquaintance with the Song of Solomon can scarcely be questioned, and Theocritus was a flatterer of Ptolemy Philadelphus before he became a Pastoral poet, and endeavoured to please the king by justifying his marriage with his sister: we have in this fact about the Song of Solomon what at any rate is an adequate reason for Ptolemy's interest in the literature of the Jews; for when

[1] ἀδελφιδός could probably be regarded as a diminutive of ἀδελφός.

men violate the well-grounded sentiments of their contemporaries, they are grateful to any advocate who will speak in their favour.

We have, therefore, acquired the date 270 B.C. as the *terminus ad quem* for the LXX. translation of the Song of Solomon. Now if that translation were accurate, it would be a help to the understanding of the Song of Solomon, but would tell us nothing of the state of the Hebrew language at the time when it was made. As, however, it is a literal but incorrect translation, something may be learned from it in regard to this point also. For if a translator of the year 270 B.C. interprets a Hebrew word X as Z, it may reasonably be inferred that the meaning X was obsolete by his time.

Naturally we should like to know who the translator was, since the assertion of Josephus that the LXX. were the best scholars of the time does not necessarily settle the point. It seems, however, clear that the translator must have been an Israelite, with whom Greek was an acquired language. The geographical and historical references could have been understood by no one other than an Israelite. Moreover one who had had a Greek education would have avoided many errors that are clearly due to imperfect acquaintance with Greek.

The translator's geography is remarkable both for what he knows and what he does not know. He knows that in iv. 4 *Thalpioth* is the name of a place. This must be regarded as an out-of-the-way piece of knowledge, for it seems to have escaped all the commentators. Yet a place bearing this name is mentioned by the Arabic geographer Yakut in such a way as to leave little doubt of the correctness of the LXX. interpretation. "Talfiatha," he says, "is one of the villages of the Ghutah of *Damascus*"; it is mentioned in the tradition of Abu 'l-'Amaitir Al-Sufyani, who revolted in the days of the Caliph Al-Amin" (ninth century A.D.). It

also figures in history in the reign of his immediate predecessor, the Caliph Harun Al-Rashid.[1] Evidently the translator identified "the tower of David built towards Talpioth," with "the tower of Lebanon which looks towards Damascus" of vii. 4. As a proper name the word admits of an easy derivation; it is the Hebrew for "Edge-hill," or "the Mound of Edges," so called after its shape. Since in other places geographical names are translated, and the meaning of words guessed at, it seems clear that had not the translator known the local name Talpioth, he would have rendered the passage by some ingenious guess, as others have done.

This being so, we have reason to infer that in his time those geographical names which he does not know were obsolete. The most striking of these is *Thirzah*, at one time famous as the capital of the northern kingdom; but apparently the river *Amanah* also had already changed its name, since he misrenders this word by "Faith."

But what is more important is that we may infer from a study of this translation that the Biblical Hebrew was a dead language in the translator's time. He stumbles where we stumble; in some cases he is misled by modern usage so as to mistake what to us is the obvious meaning of a passage—obvious, because most of us are more familiar with Biblical than with late Hebrew. Throughout the book he mistakes the old word for "love" (*dodim*) for "breasts" (*dadaim*), a favourite word in New Hebrew. Hence *dodim* must have been obsolete in his time.

A most interesting mistake is his mistranslation of the word for "veil"[2] by "silence." This word properly signifies a "juncture,"[3] and refers to the juncture of the hood which comes over the head with the veil that comes up over the face. In the costume of Egyptian women of the

[1] Ibn Al-Athir's Chronicle, vi. 88.

[2] צמחך. [3] Arabic *dammah*.

present day the juncture itself is effected by a short chain; but the advantage of the method is that it allows the eyes and temples to appear, as was the case with the veil spoken of by Solomon (iv. 1, 3). Evidently to the translator this sort of veil was obsolete, as he was not acquainted with its name; for from this it may be inferred that the custom itself was obsolete. But since the name must have been preserved in Canaanitish from pre-historic times, it seems to follow that it must have been lost during some great break in the national continuity—viz., during the exile.

The absurd rendering "silence" is also of value. The word *samt* is ordinary Arabic for "silence"; and it is old Arabic, for among examples of early words is the name of a desert called *Ismit, i.e.* Hush! The rendering of the word by Silence can therefore be no accident; yet we should not be justified in supposing that the LXX. translator could do as we do on any emergency in our Hebrew studies—look out the word in an Arabic dictionary. The word must have been known to the translator either as an old Canaanitish word, or as a recent importation from Arabia; and the latter is the only possible account to be given of it. We have then in this translation a confirmation of the statement in Nehemiah about the loss of the "purity" of the Hebrew language which suggested to him the necessity of preventive measures.

In viii. 5 we have a remarkable case of two guesses side by side from the Arabic: "Who is this that cometh up *clad in white, leaning* on her cousin?" For the two words italicized the original has only one word.[1] The analogous Arabic word is employed in an Arabic tradition:[2] "Who is so-and-so?" *Answer*: "The white, the leaning." So the tradition is rendered; but, since another derivative of this stem is used with the sense of "white," it seems likely that the answer in that tradition should be rendered "the

[1] מתרפקת. [2] See Nihāyah of Ibn Al-Athir (brother of the historian).

white, the clad in white,"—thus making the second word explain the first. Whether this comparison be just or not, it is certain that the word rendered "leaning" occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament; and it is also certain that it belongs to a numerous family of Arabic words—a family which contains the word for "elbow," which also appears in late Hebrew. The word, therefore, employed by Solomon is old Canaanitish; the double rendering in the LXX. implies that the translator had a doubt about it, and apparently interpreted it with hesitation from the Nabatæan usage, which in this case had reintroduced into Palestine a stem that had disappeared.

Nabatæan is not the only foreign language which the translator consults. He translates one word from the Aramaic: the modern authorities follow him, but probably he is wrong. He has also found many followers in interpreting a word from the *Greek*—by evidently a mere guess; for the text is thus made to say that Solomon made for himself a *bier*, whereas a very different kind of couch is intended.

What I desire to prove in this paper is that a book of the Old Testament presented to a Jew of the year 300 B.C. or thereabouts much the same appearance as it presents to one of us. It is in a dead language. Many verses we are inclined to give up altogether; too little is known of their meaning to allow of any chance of a satisfactory conjecture. Elsewhere from what we know of cognate or contemporary tongues we can perhaps satisfy ourselves; but our ignorance of many ancient customs, and of matters historical and geographical, is likely to mislead us constantly. That we can interpret the Song of Solomon better than the LXX. translator is due to the fact that many sources of knowledge are open to us now which were not then accessible to him. The Song itself is evidently pre-exilian, and the tradition which ascribes it to Solomon is

most likely to be correct; but the traditional interpretation which very likely accompanied it seems to have perished during the Exile. Had it been current in the LXX. translator's time, he would assuredly have employed it.

The evidence of the translation of Isaiah is too bulky to be collected here, but it fully bears out that of the Song of Solomon. In one place the translator gives a word in his native language—*Geioras* for "stranger" (xiv. 1); and it is Syriac. In another he interprets a Hebrew word—which ought to have occasioned him no difficulty from the Arabic, or, more probably, Nabatæan—"curse," for "confusion." That the language of the prophet is as much a dead language to him as it is to us does not admit of question.

It follows that we must deny the post-exilian origin of any performances in classical Hebrew, and thus restore the bulk of Scripture to pre-exilian times. For it is certain that the philological sense failed the ancient Hebrews altogether. The way to save the old language would assuredly have been to register it in grammars and dictionaries; but such an idea did not occur to Nehemiah: he tried far more drastic, yet far less effectual methods. Now even when a language has been thus registered it is difficult to write in a style that does not betray the century in which the work is written; even in such artificial performances as Latin Hexameters or Greek Iambics a competent judge ought to be able to tell the work of the nineteenth century from that of the eighteenth, and indeed the work of the first half of this century from that of the second half. The process of judging is not *divining*, but perfectly scientific: the judge ought to know exactly what rules were known to composers at each of those periods, and the records of the progress of knowledge give him exact dates. But if we possessed complete knowledge of the ways of the ancients, this criterion would in the case of the best work be inapplicable. Hence, in dealing with the work of a nation that

possessed no sense of grammatical science at all, fabrication ought to be very easy of detection. A man who had possessed the skill to analyse the old Hebrew idioms would probably, by starting the science of philology among his countrymen, have won more permanent fame and gratitude than he could ever have won by fabrication. But it is certain that the study of Hebrew grammar is not older than 850 A.D. The Mohammedans were compelled by circumstances to compile grammars, vocabularies, and commentaries; and since the Jews flourished in Mohammedan states, they imitated their example.

There is, moreover, another reason for paying great attention to the traditional dates and authors of the Biblical books. Science detests the uneven balance; to use a line of argument when it leads to a desirable conclusion, but reject it when it leads to an undesirable one is an abomination in her eyes. Now let us think how it comes that we can read Hebrew texts at all. The vowels remained unwritten from the time at which those texts were composed until about 750 A.D.—about 1,250 years after the death of old Hebrew, and about 700 years after the death of new Hebrew. The correct pronunciation of the words was handed down from father to son, from teacher to pupil. In sporadic cases it could be tested by transliterations; but owing to the fact that till the most recent times no scientific method of transliteration had been invented, this test was absolutely insufficient. A test has at last been discovered, and this will confirm many remarkable peculiarities of the traditional vocalization. We trust the tradition, then, for such minutiæ as vowel points through a period of more than a thousand years and find that trust justified; but when it comes to important questions, such as the authorship and dates of Isaiah and the Psalms, we discard the tradition with scarcely a hearing!

In judging questions of authorship, we had best be guided

by experience; the closer we follow what it tells us the more likely we shall be to hit the mark. Anonymous works, except when they are humorous, are rarely, if ever, good. A good writer is not anxious to shirk either the responsibility or the honour of what he writes. And posterity is not ordinarily unmindful of those who have served the race by their pens, but preserves and reverences their names. The Song of Solomon was, as we have seen, a work of such striking beauty that Greece, so rich in literary forms, borrowed from it a new style. If any other than Solomon had written it, his name would doubtless have been handed down, as has happened with such authors as Archilochus, Sophron, and Menippus. Moreover, if the tradition that it was by Solomon was pre-exilic, we assuredly have now no power of checking it. The historical facts that shine through show us Palestine united and peaceful, such as it was only in the great king's days.

Hence the fact that it was by Solomon gave it a place in the Bible; and that place was utilized by Providence to introduce the preparation for the Gospel. The Law and the Prophets can be appreciated by a trained taste only; but every one is attracted by the rich fragrance of the country. "Beauty and grace doth thine eye desire, but most of all the green of the fields." The Rabbis, who do not ordinarily show themselves impressionable, speak of the Song of Solomon as the gem of the Bible. It has about it a bloom and a freshness which reflect the halcyon days wherein it was composed.

But were those who gave it a place in the Canon because it was by Solomon in the right? Did the Bible condescend to entertain an erotic poem in order that the Gentiles might one day be won, or is the theory more true that its love and wine stand for something very different from what they ordinarily signify? Here again we had best be guided by experience. There is no poet more highly prized in Persia

and India than Hafiz; scarcely one more popular where Arabic is spoken than Ibn Al-Farid; these authors apparently are occupied only with love and wine; but no one believes that they in reality are dealing with either. In many cases there is a traditional interpretation of their verses; this is not always easy to understand, because to those who spent their lives in certain forms of meditation, certain concepts would be familiar which to others convey little or no meaning. But occasionally the inner sense is plain. Sometimes the verses are so clearly mystical that no one could suppose the literal meaning to be the sense intended; whereas at other times, without the tradition to guide us, we might fancy we had before us commonplace wine-songs or love-songs. Thus the first ode of Ibn Al-Farid, where the wayfarer is asked to tell certain of the tribe of Tay that he is sick of love, that the physician had told him there was no cure for his complaint, that the tie which bound him and *her* in the code of love was nearer than that of brother and sister, seems at first sight so clearly erotic that we have difficulty in assimilating the mystical rendering. But the same writer's *Tā'iyyah*, probably the most celebrated of the mystic poems of the East, scarcely veils its meaning from the first, but lands us at once in Pantheism. Somewhat similarly in the Song of Solomon the last chapter is mystical, one might say, without question; its allegorical character is on the surface; thence we are justified in arguing that the same is the case with the other chapters; they are mystical too, but the fact is less conspicuous.

D. S. Margoliouth.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

Saving Faith.

Were any intelligent person asked to name the imperative condition on which a soul must be saved according to the Christian religion, he could not do anything else with the Bible in his hand than mention faith. From beginning to end of the Evangel of God, from the call of Abraham in Genesis to the last invitation of the Spirit in Revelation, the Divine voice is clear and consistent. Our manifest duty is to believe, and the refusal to believe is destruction. There are various types of saintliness in Holy Scripture, and the Judges are very different men from the Apostles, but every type is founded on faith. Amazing achievements were wrought by the heroes of Hebrew history, and the devotion of the first Christians arrested the world: the power was always faith, which was the nurse both of sacrifice and of charity. Exceeding precious promises are made in the name of God; they are all contingent on faith. Heavenly revelations are made to simple men who were prepared to receive them through faith. The patriarchs unite in giving one sublime example of faith, the psalmists sing the praises of faith, the prophets reproach Israel with the want of faith, the apostles go everywhere preaching faith. Jesus Himself made one demand of the world, that the world should believe in Him; when the world did not believe, He was helpless and could do nothing; when any one showed conspicuous faith, Jesus could not conceal His admiration; there was nothing which He could deny to faith, and nothing which faith, He said, could not do. According to Him, he that believeth is saved, and he that believeth not is not saved, and throughout the history of the Early Church the distinction is sharply drawn between believers and unbelievers. The believers are the disciples of Jesus, and the heirs of salvation. By faith a man enters

the kingdom of God, and by faith he continues therein, and by faith he shall come into its fulness when the kingdom of grace becomes the kingdom of glory.

It is surely, therefore, most desirable that one should understand what is the nature of faith, and the exact meaning of this demand which our Master made. Faith in the usage of common speech has two senses, and the confusion of these two senses has been a disaster, for it has not only darkened the religious mind, but has also gravely weakened the religious life. When one says that he believes that Jesus died and rose again, he is declaring his faith in a fact of history as he might have declared his faith in the battle of Waterloo. When one says that he believes in the doctrine of the Trinity, he is declaring his faith in a proposition of theological science as he might have declared his faith in the solution of one of Euclid's problems. This faith is purely intellectual; it deals with facts either in the domain of history or of reason. Between this faith and the life of the person there is no necessary contact, for the person may go about his daily work unmoved by the conclusion. But one may say, "I believe in Jesus Christ," and when he says that, he has passed into another sphere of thought and of feeling. It is as if he had said that he believed in his mother, but with a still deeper and more sacred meaning. He is dealing now, not with facts or with doctrines, but with a person, and there is an immense difference between believing in a fact and believing in a person. When one believes in a person, he does not only believe with his intellect—which he certainly does, and therefore the facts of Christ's life are included within faith—but he believes also with his heart, with his conscience, and with his will, with his whole mental and spiritual personality. The act of faith which Jesus demands is therefore an act of personal faith, faith between a person and a person, and it implies the surrender of the

one who believes to the other. Intellectual faith may be called belief, but this faith must be called trust.

It goes, of course, without saying that where any person puts his trust in another that other stands to him in a certain relation—mother, friend, partner—and certainly no one can be invited to trust in Christ without regard to His person and His character. When Christ appealed for faith, He appealed to men in a certain condition—who were sinners and who needed salvation; and He appealed as one who had a certain office and who had undertaken a certain duty—who was a Saviour, and who had been appointed of God to complete the great work of human salvation. The trust, therefore, which one puts in Jesus, according to the Gospel, is the trust of a sinner, and Jesus who receives that trust, according to the Gospel, receives it as a Saviour. The believer in this act commits himself soul and body, without reserve and with entire loyalty, into the hands of Jesus, Who, on His part, undertakes to save him soul and body, without limit of time or circumstance. And the bond which unites together the sinner seeking salvation and the Saviour affording salvation is faith.

Before any man is entitled to place this absolute confidence in Jesus Christ, he must have good reasons for believing that Christ as a Saviour is worthy of this trust, and that he on his part is at full liberty to trust in Christ. After one understands the nature of Christian faith, he must master the grounds upon which it rests. What is the foundation and the warrant of faith by which it is justified and upon which it stands invulnerable? Three answers have been given to this question, and each of them is true; indeed, they form together one complete ground of faith. Of course the first ground of faith must always be the testimony of Holy Scripture, for no one can believe unless he has heard. Faith cometh by hearing, and what one hears is the Gospel of God. Holy Scripture teaches us the

greatness and the hopelessness of our sin, the tender mercy and loving compassion of God, His purpose of salvation, and the gift of Jesus Christ. Holy Scripture also declares unto us the arrival of the Son of God within our race by the Incarnation, His Life of Perfect Obedience and Law-keeping, His Passion and His Death. Holy Scripture also explains to us that in His Life and Death Jesus was a representative of the human race, and that by His Resurrection and Ascension and endless Intercession He has become our Saviour, and Holy Scripture lays down with the utmost clearness, and with overflowing grace, the excellence of Jesus as the Friend and Lord and Redeemer of the human soul. Finally, the voice of God through Holy Scripture appeals unto each man that he should make no delay and have no hesitation, but should make haste and instantly commit himself into the hands of Christ. We are commanded and encouraged to believe throughout the length and breadth of the Bible, and therefore every man is justified in this trust, and any one refusing to trust is condemned.

Another ground of faith can be found in the voice of the Church, and by this ought to be understood the voice of believing men throughout all the ages. Very often the testimony of the Church has been limited to her authoritative teaching of doctrine, when she is really working in an intellectual sphere, and is demanding an intellectual faith. The testimony of the Church should be extended to include her witness to the salvation of the human soul, through the grace of Jesus Christ, and here she is speaking within a spiritual sphere, and is making her appeal to the heart. Her witness is of incalculable value, and comes only short of the testimony of Holy Scripture. Should any one hesitate to believe the Gospel declared by the Prophets and Apostles in the Bible, because it is too good to be true, or should any one desire some human evidence from those

who have made the great experiment of faith, then the Church comes in and supplements the contents of Holy Scripture. An innumerable company of saints of all ages and various intellectual creeds declare that they have heard the voice of God, and have gone forth like Abraham at His command, risking their whole spiritual position and an unknown future upon the Word of God and the Person of Jesus Christ. They have run this risk, and they have not been put to confusion; they have rather discovered, and are prepared to declare, that the half had not been told them of the goodly land into which they have already come, and whose fulness stretches before them into Eternity. It is as if a sinful man, penitent for his past and longing to see the salvation of God, should stand at the door of God's kingdom holding in his hand one of the great invitations of the Evangel, such as "Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out." "Is this to be read," he says, "in the fulness of its meaning? and is it possible that such a person as I am embraced in its intention?" Unto this wistful soul comes one witness after another from the gates of the kingdom, prophets, apostles, saints, martyrs. Each one comes now as an individual believer, and each one as he comes sets his seal upon the invitation, declaring that he has trusted, and that God has been true. And at the sound of this Amen the fearful soul plucks up heart to believe.

There is also a third ground of faith, which is sometimes exalted beyond measure by those who quarrel with the Catholic Creed, and regarded with unjust suspicion by those who hold that Creed in its most intense form. It may be called spiritual reason, and it has its own use and validity. When one is considering the Gospel of God with all gravity, is it not natural that he should ask himself whether this Gospel be such as God would have given, and which He might have expected? whether, in fact, it is a worthy and

becoming Gospel? There is a spiritual fitness in things, and as we have been created with a conscience and with a reason, they are bound to investigate, and to pass judgment upon this Gospel. Should our moral sense reject the message of God because it is not such as could have come from Him, or could have been addressed to us, then, in spite of the authority of Scripture and the witness of the saints, we are not entitled to believe. Should our moral sense give hearty welcome to that Gospel because it has revealed the heart of God, and also has revealed ourselves, then the witness of the Bible and the witness of the faith have been confirmed within each man's judgment, and by each man's inner light. Upon these three grounds the witness of revelation, the witness of the Church, and the witness of the spiritual reason, faith builds her house and is strong. Afterwards she will obtain another ground, and lay her foundation in still greater depths and strength, because by-and-by the soul will come for herself to know what others have told, and hearing will pass into experience. Experience is the condition of certitude, so that he who trusted on the Word of God and the word of his fellow-men will be able to say, "I know Whom I have believed," and then the soul will have all joy and peace in believing.

Various difficulties in the matter of faith occur to the honest mind, and are especially harassing because they affect the grounds of faith, and one of the chief concerns the Bible. No one can ignore even the power of this unique Book when he is in search of faith, and the very criticism which beats upon the Bible is a tribute to its authority. There are minds which the Book immediately satisfies, and their faith builds upon it as upon a rock; there are minds which are puzzled and offended by the Bible. They are concerned about discrepancies in numbers and dates, they are horrified at certain deeds and speeches, they are confused about opposite views of truth in the

Bible. Such people have even come to imagine that with another kind of Bible faith would have been easier, and that this Bible is a hindrance to faith. Had it been, for instance, a little historical manual, carefully checked by some scholar, or a synopsis of doctrine, or a collection of moral sentiments; had St. Stephen read up his Pentateuch before making his great speech in the presence of the Sanhedrin, and had the old Hebrew Judges acted like St. John, and had St. James sent his letter to St. Paul for adjustment before publication, then unbelief would have been unknown. One is amazed at a person thinking after this fashion, not on account of his want of honesty, but on account of his want of imagination. Were the Bible this wooden Book some people seem to desire, with no imperfections of human nature, no indifference to petty details, no play of individuality, then the Bible would certainly cause no difficulty to-day, for it would long ago have gone out of circulation. That book could hardly be divine which was not even human, and no one could vex himself with such criticism if he grasped the nature of the Bible. It is not a book written in heaven and dropped down from the clouds, it is the revelation of God through human experience. It is the likeness of the face of God drawn in the consciousness of saints; first a few rough strokes, then the suggestion of a face, and then the brightness of God's countenance in Jesus Christ His Son. What concerns us is not the canvas and the colouring, but the expression of the face, which is Love. The Bible is not merely history and biography, it is a message, which begins in the early books and grows clearer and fuller and kinder, till it reaches its climax in the Gospels. There is the stalk of the corn, and there is the chaff, which are the facts and the follies of human nature in Bible history; but there is also the grain in the ear, and that is the Gospel of God. It is this message of the Eternal, separated from its environment of Hebrew history, which is the warrant of

faith, and the sound of this Evangel can be heard from almost every part of the Bible.

Faith also is often perplexed by the mysteries of the Christian religion, and people are apt to feel in all sincerity that Christianity is simply an incomprehensible and esoteric faith with doctrines of fathomless depth, like the Holy Trinity, and the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Atonement for Sin, and the work of the Holy Ghost. Faith is therefore placed beyond the reach of plain folk. Who can pretend, for instance, to understand the Procession of the Holy Ghost or the union of the Divine and Human in the Person of Christ? Had Christianity not busied herself with such hopeless enigmas, some one says—had Christianity been only a rule for life, then it would have been possible for me to believe. Upon the other hand, had Christianity been a little manual of commonplace morals about paying one's debts and giving to the poor, one had thrown the Gospel of Christ into the fire because it was so trivial, and so shallow. Every religion must go into the whole question of the soul and God, or else it does not deserve its name; and if Christianity has dared to pierce to the very origin of existence, it has given a pledge of reality. No doubt Christianity has dealt with mysteries; but it is to be remembered that it is not these mysteries which are the object of faith, but Jesus Christ Himself. It does not matter, in the first instance, whether one understands the Person of Christ, or the exact principle of His atoning sacrifice, if so be that one receives Christ Himself by faith. His faith then possesses the fulness of Christ and of His sacrifice together, and in the ages to come faith may explore the goodly land at her leisure till every mystery has yielded its secret and speculation has passed into knowledge. Faith is invited to make her first venture in the Gospel with Jesus, Whose victory over sin every one can verify, and Whose grace no one can deny. The door for Christian faith

is not the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, nor is it even the doctrine of the Cross, but it is the Living Christ Himself.

Certain people also will always find a reason for unbelief in the divisions and controversies of Christendom. The witness of the saints, they say, is not harmonious, but is broken. If Christian people everywhere, and at every time, had spoken with one voice, it would have been easy to believe; but Christendom is one huge Babel, in which an ordinary person loses his head, and despairs of certainty. No one can estimate how the contradiction and wranglings of Christians have increased the difficulty of faith or hindered the conversion of the world. At the same time, however, it ought to be remembered that the lamentable disunity of Christendom is not so deep as might appear; for if two matters of dispute—the orders of the clergy, and the sacraments of the Church — be withdrawn, Christendom speaks with one voice. It has the same doctrine of God, and of Christ, and of Grace, and of Sin. Besides, are not these very divisions an impressive proof of the intensity of our religion? because men had not contended even unto blood about doctrine had not these doctrines been the symbols for eternal truths. Faith, instead of being alienated by the divisions of Christendom, should rather see in these divisions the inestimable value of Jesus Christ, for Whose slightest word men are prepared to suffer and die. In short, the most serious difficulties that stand in the way of evangelical faith would be removed and cease to exist if we only remembered that we are invited to place our faith, not in the Bible, not in the creeds of the Church, not in foolish Christian people, but in Jesus Christ Himself, in Whom faith can find no difficulty, in Whom faith will ever receive the fullest satisfaction.

Should it be asked why it is necessary to believe in Jesus in order to be saved, and why Christ cannot save the soul

except upon this condition of faith, then the answer goes to the very root of the Christian religion, and indeed of all religion. What is sin but rebellion against God? and what is its punishment but alienation from God? Is not the sinner, when he is found, in a far country so distant from God and from holiness that between his soul and God there is no fellowship? What is salvation but restoration from this far country and restoration to the communion of God? There is only one way by which the soul can return to the Father, and that way is Christ Himself. When the soul is united to Christ so that Christ and the soul are one in standing, in mind, in character, and in life, then the soul has come home again with Christ to the Father's House and the Father's bosom. It has the same communion with God which Christ has. This union can only be effected by faith, just as it is rendered impossible by unbelief. Faith is the bond which connects the soul with Christ, so that the soul being now in Christ Jesus, is partaker of the virtue of all that He has done, and heir to the fulness of all that He is. Through faith the soul is hidden in Christ, through faith the soul becomes a part of Christ, a member of His Body under the direction and protection of the Head, a branch in the vine receiving its sap and life from the stock. He that refuses to believe remains outside Christ; he that consents to believe is in Christ Jesus, and in idea and in prophecy is before God as Christ Jesus Himself.

The excellence of this Gospel of Faith must surely be plain to every mind; for while none could be more profound in its issues, none could be more simple in its statement. It lays aside for the moment the problems of the past and future, and confines the hearer's attention to two persons, himself and Jesus Christ. It takes him as he finds himself —weak, ignorant, sinful, and cast down; it takes Christ as He is found in the Gospels—holy, strong, triumphant, and

gracious. It asserts that all which the sinner needs is to be found in Christ, and that all which Christ is can be obtained by the sinner, and then it lays down the one reasonable and necessary condition, that the sinner shall trust in Jesus with all his heart. No gospel could be more gracious, because on this condition of faith alone the sinner will be transported from his environment of sin and the entail of his sinful heredity broken, and he will be placed in a new environment of holiness, and be made one of a new creation. And no gospel could be more hopeful because it unites the fortunes of the sinner for time and eternity with those of Jesus Christ who is the Son of God, and in Whom dwells the whole fulness of the Godhead.

JOHN WATSON.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

LECTURE I.

"THE YOUTH AND HIS DREAMS."

GENESIS XXXVII. 1–11.

IN any walk among the hills on a summer's day we might here and there step across many little rills and take no heed; or we might come at any time to a well-head that was the beginning of a brook. But we should pause and look down the course of any slenderest stream with a thrill, if we were told that in those gentle overflowings of nature there began a river which swelled to so vast a flood that it divided kingdoms and carried fleets that determined the destinies of the world.

When we read the Book of Genesis, we have the feeling of being on the uplands of human life. There is a pleasant loneliness and leisureliness in it, and something of the peace that there is among the hills. A pathos also seems to creep along the Book, or something akin to pathos; a "pastoral

melancholy"; the feeling not so much of being alone as of being alone with God. There is the interest, too, which attaches to beginnings and simple universal influences; the green earth and the blue sky are in this book near one another—so near that they can touch and speak; and nations grow out of the names that we find among these hills. Yet severe lines are drawn there as well as those that soothe and please; the rock is beneath the turf of the grass, and the moral law parts lives as inevitably as a watershed. So there are streams on the one hand that break in torrent or stagnate in the tarn, just as on the other there are those that run far and are beneficent.

In this Book, next to the interest of the world itself beginning to be, is that of the beginnings of man's life upon it. For while, in one sense, there is an ever-renewed beginning in each man's personal history, and a fresh experiment is made in every life, yet there is a unique interest in our being shown here man after man stepping into the unproved arena of human life and attempting without precedent to find out the right way to live. And scarcely less interesting is it to see how young men were sent forth from home and from under the lee of a father's life to go afield and possess the new world. At the door of the father's tent sons were parted like streams, and "became into" many "heads," the seclusion and spell of home giving not only direction to their course, but tingeing and impregnating their character. For every lad who leaves home carries thence a record not only nor so much in outward aspect and name as in the grain and fibre of his being; yet not so, either at first or now, that a son bears the burden of his father, or a father the son's. Though life has not in this Book thickened to press and strain, the incalculable element in every human action is made plain; and though the scenery is undulating and soft, God's word is as strict on these hills as it was on Sinai's splintered

peaks. No book in the world is more distinct and definite, in spite of its gentle half-tones and glide-notes (as sweet almost at times as the voices of the forsaken garden), in declaring that God made man, and also that every man makes or mars himself.

As we read Genesis at this point, we seem to be called by the narrative to transfer our interest. There is a note of farewell in the words, "These are the generations of Jacob." His life has run rough and far, but it now loses current and will henceforward merely eddy round or quietly swell and fall to the pulse of the morning and the evening. He can make no more history, but history must be made. He will stay at home, but his sons must go out and abroad. So he stands at the tent door, and his sons are around him, and, like Jesse's before Samuel at Bethlehem, they pass before us. Which of these twelve is the greatest? Which of them will leave his mark on his age and the world? In which is the hiding of power? Among them there is a king—one wisest, strongest, best; one of invincible heart! Him we must find and follow; and the Bible here gives us the lead when, turning from the veteran to a stripling, and making an almost pathetic transition from father to son, it says quite simply, "Joseph being seventeen years old."

The truth which we wish to keep clear and full beyond the facts of this and every life of which we read in Scripture is the truth of life as given in Jesus Christ. That life is the centre and glory of the Bible as it is the victory and crown of human life in the world. As if along vast echoing halls of history, human life, whenever nobly moved, advanced and converged towards one Master Light; and the Bible arranges its biography so that we are shown in remotest ages this central Light of life falling from afar on the faces of all seekers after truth. And what is more suggestive than even this light on their face is the likeness

in their outward life to the life of the Man who was God. For the truth of human life was being sought and found in action sooner than in speculation and theory. Before psalmists or prophets or preacher-kings in Jerusalem had sought or found that thought which they felt so corresponded to the thought of God that they called it *the truth*, men of like passions with ourselves were trying to prove the truth in their lives. They were making their life a noble strife with circumstances. They were refusing to be defeated of time and chance. They faced the world's temptations and trials, and stood up to its storm; and in their own life strained and bruised, they purchased with pain a larger life and nobler rights for others. All this that we now say is conspicuously proved and plain in the life of Joseph. Not only is the reflection of Christ's light bright on his face, as we see it across the ages still, shining along his life's splendid moral adventure to victory; but his outward life, in much of its feature and fate, suggestively resembles that of the God-man. We wish, therefore, to do something more and better than read this life with you as an interesting excerpt from human history. We do not want to bring the story of this life home to ourselves by detaching the leaves on which it is written, but rather to turn round upon its central truth the great circle of revelation, of which this forms a part, until these far-away facts of Genesis are brought nigh unto us and are at the same time seen in line with the life of Christ.

The life of Joseph is especially suited for consideration in the present day. This is not the age of chivalry and romance; it is eminently a practical age—the day of the man with a long, level head. A man like Joseph is the man to get on to-day. He is not a man of sentiment or sensation, but a steady, vigorous, well-balanced man of the world. His religion is a quiet, persistent motive, rather than a noticeable and arresting emotion. We read neither

of his understandings nor misunderstandings with his best nature; he had no quarrel with God, and his life seemed to need no repentance. Indeed, but for the occasional flash of sudden fire when any one tampered with his soul, one could not guess how the Divine was constantly and silently feeding his life. And so we feel that his nature, though so full of the pain of the higher life, possessed its power rather than its passion; and we see in him, on the ordinary paths and at the common levels of life, a shrewd, resolute, matter-of-fact man, pursuing the opportunity of his daily life with the steady, swift speed of an instinct, and at every turn making the path of duty a path of success. He is not even in the direct line of blessing, and thus, in a sense he was not responsible to the high calling of God for far futures of the world's history and heavens yet to be. He has heard only the high call of God to duty immediate and personal in the world as it was before him. So he does not revel in contemplations and visions of God—communings high apart on the brow and breeze of the hills; but when he dreams, it is of getting on in the world; and when he sees God, it is when He is serving Him neither by tent nor altar, but trying to do his duty in palace-prison and prison-palace.

This is the kind of man we need in the present day. We do not need new revelations nor better theologians to interpret the old ones; we could not well, take them as a whole, have better preachers, nor could we possibly have keener church courts or church congresses more wide-awake and wary. We are in need of none of these; we have them all. What we want is better men and women, a higher percentage of those who will neither do wrong, nor suffer wrong to be done; true to their trust as citizens in a self-governing community; truer when they have their pens in their hand, or are ringing the gold upon their counters; truer when they are on their honour in their master's house

and nobody is suspecting them; truer when they are in the family circle at home and nobody sees; and able to look themselves fair in the face as men and women when the Spirit of God holds up its mirror before them. As we see it, the life of Joseph is luminous with light and lessons for the present day. It comes very nigh us: it may come home to us. It does not tower like a mountain high above the plain, till it is vast and grand, but dim of mist, enfolded like Abraham's; nor is it sweet and willing like Isaac's, pliant as willows by a watercourse on a hillside; nor is it like Jacob's life, a shapely result at the last, but made beautiful out of poor materials, an ideal realized in clay. The life of Joseph rises with verve and spring of polished marble like a statue in the street, dusty with the stir of the market place, and steady with its composure and strength —not too high to be seen, nor too ethereal to arrest the average man—a memorial and a model with a silent message to all.

And what an old, old story this story of Joseph is! It is told at the end of the book which tells how things began. Men have read it from long ago; how they read it, our fathers have told us; and men are reading it still. Jesus Christ would know it when He was a boy, and must have thrilled with a strange consciousness as He read of a well-beloved son being sent among unkind brethren. Shakespeare—mightiest in thought of all men—makes it the *motif* of *The Tempest* in which he breathed out the deepest thought of his vast soul, the last he said before he said no more. Goethe tells us how the story moved him, when, in his youth, that intellect was stirring which mastered earth but never submitted to Heaven, and which has left us great results that, after all, are only like pictures without horizon, or frescoes upon a dungeon wall. What a story it has been and is for all! A child's story and yet a man's! A tale not more for the nursery, fireside, and

children in their early bed, than for the legislator in his halls, and for every young man ere he goes through crowded streets to desk and drawer in his counting-house in the morning. Alone and apart this story of Joseph is clear and luminous; and, if taken into the hand and held before the life, it might be as a lamp unto the feet of any young man of aspiration, but, because of its vital relation to the Bible—the great instrument of light—any one can make for himself the attachment which will bring into this simple tale of his childhood a power with which he can search his own life's far horizons, and also draw into his soul from his life's larger relations the motive and thrill of Divine inspiration. To this highest service may the Holy Spirit now employ through us the Word which of old He gave to the world in this wonderful *life*, and which He is continually giving to the world still in this *Scripture!* May we together so search, that these chapters, while they testify of Joseph, shall, in their deepest intent and motive, testify of Jesus Christ!

"Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren, and the lad was with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives." In these olden times, when the world went slowly round and life was driven with a slack rein, a lad of seventeen was young. The growth of the mind was leisurely and easy, and the nerve and muscle of manhood came slowly. It was not then as now when growth is forced, and when most men are all the men they are to be before they are twenty. Joseph at seventeen would be a sweet, simple child, and some of his brethren in that mixed household were twice his age. All the lad's life was yet to be shaped and made. The most precious thing in all the world was there in raw material, and a fabric is to be made of worth beyond any price of earth. A human life is the only thing in all the world that is immortal, and they who give

it its character and set are doing work for eternity. Take care, old man in the tent, doating and fond! and take care, you rough brothers in the field! lest you spoil the boy!

"Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children because he was the son of his old age, and he made him a coat of many colours; and when his brethren saw that his father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him." Every young life, let it be lived where you will, is lived more or less between the two mighty powers of love and hatred. Between that which would hurt and that which protects; as between two poles, every life is in a sense poised. Like a plant, a life grows up with a summer and a winter in its year, a day and a night in its twenty-four hours. In a sharp, accentuated way, as if to give the lad a regimental training for a hard life at the very first, Joseph knew at home the influences which harass and hurt; and, on the other hand, he had there a retreat of selectest shelter. His father loved him: his brethren hated him. It was love that clothed his life as the sun clothes the flowers, in a coat of many colours; it was the hatred that, like the darkness, took the coat of many colours away. His father's love drew out the finer characteristics of the boy, as sunlight opens out a flower; but his brothers' unkindness made him shrink and closed up the leaves again as a touch of frost or the darkness of night does. So the life grew up and took shape, with its own instinctive response and recoil amongst its circumstances, hardening here to the repeated shock of the hate, and softly awakening there to the continual surprise of the love. It was well that there was this double influence on the lad's life—antipathy as well as sympathy; if he had had only the shelter of the tent, and always the old man's bosom to fly to, he might have grown to a shy sweetness, and been facile and feminine; and if he had known only the hatred and the coarse jest of his brethren in the fields, his nature

might have been soured or crushed. But, between the two, if there be any makings in the fellow at all, the man will be made; and there will be both deep tap-root and rough bark to his life, as well as a continual power to grow in love and light.

But are there any makings in him at all? Is there any sign given at this critical and formative period in the youth's life that make us watch him with interest or follow him with hope? Is this weed or flower that here begins to show and grow? Is this a hardy oak seedling or only a soft spruce sapling that thus hears the voice of spring? For the inherent spirit in the man makes all the difference. Each tree has its own dialogue with the wind, and soon says in its own tones how it will face the weather and fare in the changing seasons. It is not the way in which circumstances face a man, but the way in which he faces them that fixes his fate. We must search into the under-life of Joseph himself if we are to get any hint beforehand of his future; we must get a glimpse of his soul, if that shows itself at either door or lattice.

The suggestions here are slender and fugitive, and difficult to capture and question; but, in this spiritually inerrant Book, the slightest sign in pausing light or passing shadow betokens spirit. That is not a talebearer who comes from the fields, and brings from the big men there an evil report. There is neither in his face nor in his step a suggestion of meanness or stealth. There is not a shred of evidence that Joseph took part with the rest in evil, and then went home to tell; and there is evidence, of fine quality, if there be little of it, that the youth recoiled with all his soul from what he heard his brothers say and saw them do. His soul said in his face, "How can I do this great wickedness," all the way home, as he went to his confidant and companion there. Telling tales! peaching! Why, in one sense there was no relationship between the mere boy and these wild,

grown men with their wives and their herds! But there was a closeness of companionship between him and his father. He had his father's company and his father's confidence; he was "the son of his old age." Jacob had loved Rachel, and was that love an idle abstraction now? Had it not both place and play in his life still? Had it not a continual rejuvenescence and satisfaction in Joseph? He, perhaps, had his mother's face or his mother's ways; and though Jacob's heart was now too old and slow to send the love out into all the movements of his life as it had done when years were as a day in Syria for the love he bore her, yet it pressed along the old channels towards her boy; and, like an old mossy tree at the budding time, his life, hollow and broken though it was, felt from Joseph a breath as of dead summers, and knew again the passion of the spring, and "he loved Joseph more than all his brethren." It was a sort of lover's love between that father and this son, and it would have things to say in silence; there would be whisperings in it, and youth and age meeting in this fine affinity would have secrets and confidences. And could any instinct have been more just or more justifiable than when this secluded boy relieved his soul of a burden by speaking to his father? Detain the spirit which in these verses tells how Joseph sheered off from those brethren, and betook himself to fidelity with his father, and question it as to what it would suggest by telling us so! and we think the answer will be, "A soul of goodness in the lad."

The greatness which was latent in Joseph is more clearly shown. Its evidence is plainly writ; we have it here in large letters. Joseph's soul foresees and foreshadows its own power in his dreams. A daring painter, when his inspiration is on him, will make a canvas of anything that lies to his hand, and borrow anywhere for pigment—so only may he say in his own language what has come to him! And this child must speak, and in words of one kind or

another must promise to be "father of the man." The jibe and scorn of his brethren drove the lad's soul in upon itself all the day long, whether they kept the sheep or reaped the fields. They spoiled the boy's bit of life every day, and made havoc of the present; but his irrepressible soul projected itself on the future, and in splendid fantasy handled there the sad materials of his daily experience at home. The memory of wrong and insult both in the harvest field when they were cutting and binding sheaves, and on the hillside under the stars when they watched their flocks by night, supplied the imagery of his dreams when he slept. His soul told him that things were not as they ought to be, and foretold that they must be other and better than they were; and so deep and sure was his soul in this conviction that it said so twice. A strong man's muscles will stretch and tighten in his sleep as he dreams of a difficulty; and a great man's soul can show its strength by the way it wakes and rises and goes forth while deep sleep is on him. Something said to Joseph that he was a better man than his brethren, and that, given time and chance, they would bow down to him one and all; he felt and knew that his day was coming; and he showed how strong he was in the way he handled the future in dream-vision. The man, who thus imagines, prophesies; he cannot choose but be great; he may be backed to win at any odds; his dreams will all translate into facts.

Another suggestion is given here as to the kind of man Joseph was to be. But it is not quite another and separate characteristic that we find and now indicate. The suggestion is of atmosphere around the life, which not only was the breath of his being, but which tinted rather than shaded his goodness and his greatness into harmony. There was an open frankness about the boy; it amounted almost to simplicity—unsuspicious because unconscious of evil. In spite of all the enmity and malice of his brothers,

Joseph seems not to have had even the caution to conceal anything, but to have run to them in his own mild surprise and told his dreams straight out to them. This is a fine quality in a human soul; it gives it fragrance and flavour. It makes the child's face sunny, and it exalts the way and word of a child out of prose into rhyme. This artlessness in the boy betokens genuineness in the man. The look of self-consciousness in a lad's face is an unhappy sign for any heart of love to detect there; it almost suggests that in his child-garden of life he has heard the Tempter. But proportionately joyful is it to see a face that is open and fearless and trustful; for, as long as there is nothing to conceal, our nature has neither the instinct to conceal nor even a place in which to conceal things; and as long as we are simple-hearted we shall be single-eyed. So the whole possibilities of Joseph's future seem to enlarge before our eyes when we see him not only free from any need of protective cunning, but so "one-fold" and sincere that he will not hide his dream, even from the men who may jest and ridicule when his own soul is full. This immediate and child-like veracity will be like a protective fibre around both his goodness and his power; it is a token of the special presence of God; and the men who have it are they on whom the flame does not kindle when they walk through fire.

Thus Holy Scripture delicately outlines for us here the features of Joseph's youth, showing us at the earliest stages of development one of the most sane and capable of its heroes, and permitting us to feel the first heavings of a soul that cannot choose but be great. There is no lack of force in the character; and on the moral side it is sensitive in its shrinking from evil, and at its spiritual centre it is finely poised. We may predict that its orbit will be wide and not eccentric, and its goings will be steady, if only it be true to itself. Both father and brothers felt that Joseph was great

and somehow carried the keys of the future. The brothers would have made less ado about him and his dreams if they had seen no more in what he said than the arrogance of a spoiled child; and the father observed his sayings. The only fear is of the lad himself, as he begins to feel his power; and is there not a suggestion of his risk given when we hear his father's word after the youth has told his second dream? The second was only the first flung on a screen of larger scale; but did he tell it in quite the same simple, naïve way in which he had told the first? Could there have been a slight touch of conceit, a little vapouring, in his look or tone, when his father needed to say with some smartness, "What is this dream that thou hast dreamed?" or was the old man only shielding the child in a subtle way from the jealousy of the rest? However, this was the first result of the contact of this fresh young soul with its circumstances: his brethren envied him; but his father kept the saying in mind. Yet neither his brethren's envy nor his father's fondness can fix his fate; nor will this be done even by rougher circumstances and finer compensations than those at home. There is metal in him to make a man, and there will be strain enough put on him to try the strongest as he stands in life with his hand on the tiller and his face to the storm. But it will rest with the little dreamer himself to make or mar his life; and to the end it will be his relation to his dream-vision and his ideal rather than to his real and actual circumstances that will count the most.

The Bible is a plain and practical book. It here has a plain lesson for *Brethren*. We are each responsible only for our own powers and our own use of them; we have no right to envy the fellow by our side who is better endowed than we are. Most of us have to be content in the family circle with second or third place, and in the world with a private's place in the ranks. It is a poor business to bury

our one talent, because others have two and some have ten.

> Life is too short to waste
> In critic peep or cynic bark,
> Quarrel or reprimand.
> 'Twill soon be dark!
> Up! mind thine own aim, and
> God speed the mark!

A plain lesson also for *Parents!* There is no duty in all the world that ranks prior to a parent's duty to his children. He should observe them all and deal wisely with them each. There is no wrong in loving one best; a parent cannot love all alike though he try. But the best-loved one is always a parent's danger; and while his heart swells with pride or hope as word or deed of a promising child pleases him, a wise love will never fail in the rebuke of fault or folly. Israel's rebuke to Joseph cut at a weed which might easily have sown itself broadcast, till the rich nature of the lad and all his powers were wasted in egotism and vanity.

A plain lesson also to *Young Men!* You have your life work to do, and you have to do it against hardship and hazard. You have each your varying dream, your vision, your hope. Your start in life is at best a venture; you have to guess and then to make the best you can of your choice. You may fumble in your bosom for a parchment on which you fain would find written what you are destined to do in the world; but you will search for one in vain—there is none there; you must take the responsibility of choice on yourself, and dumb destiny is standing by and she will strike you if you make a mistake. Yet no! Search your bosom deeper, and you will find your life work written in subtler hieroglyphic! Your earliest interests, your first enthusiasms, your two-fold dream, are the first order of the Great Taskmaster for you; these indicate the direction in which your power lies, and your work is there. The young

painter scratches his nursery walls, and is deciphering his own instincts; the orator makes a pulpit of his father's chairs, preaches to an impatient audience, and proclaims his own future; Joseph dreams of obeisant sheaf and obeisant star, and predicts his genius for administration. Perhaps the nineteenth century equivalent of the dreams of long ago, when life was simpler and its signs were plainer, is the young man's vision of an ideal. For every ideal is a prophecy of its own fulfilment. It is his Merlin Gleam! and

> Not of the sunlight,
> Not of the moonlight,
> Not of the starlight,
> O young Mariner!
> Down to the haven,
> Call your companions,
> Launch your vessel
> And crowd your canvas;
> And ere it vanishes
> Over the margin,
> After it, follow it,
> Follow the Gleam!

These are dreams and ideals of earth, important enough! But there are better dreams than these, and we all have had them. We have all had them—some of the brightest of them, alas! long ago!—dreams of things not seen as yet. We have had our dream-visions of heaven and God. These dreams were our soul-muttering within us, telling us to live with a God-like purpose and our face towards heaven. Where are these dreams now? Has heaven and its higher life become a nearer reality to us?—a more glorious vision and a fuller hope? Or, as we wander through a more homeless world, has our dream of better things vanished? and is the far horizon—once so fair—now only cold and grey? Ah! I wish we all might meet that Man—the Man of sympathy and of sorrows—the Man with the winning face and the eyes of pity that forget their own sorrows for ours—

the Man who points to heaven, and who says, "In My Father's house are many mansions"; and who, if the vision of long ago begins to dawn again on our life and we shrink back from it so far and so fair because we feel unworthy, can take us by the hand and lead us onward, upward, towards it all, saying, "I am the Way."

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

NOTE ON ACTS IX. 19–25.

IN Acts ix. 19–25, the passage which relates St. Paul's stay in Damascus after his conversion, there are two notes of time, viz., "certain days" (*ἡμέρας τινάς*, *v.* 19), and "many days" (*ἡμέραι ἱκαναί*, *v.* 23). These two expressions are commonly understood of two successive periods of time, as if the writer meant that after recovering his strength Saul was "certain days" with the disciples at Damascus, and that immediately after the end of those days he began to preach, and that then "many days were fulfilled"—that is, a second period of "many days" elapsed—before the Jews took counsel to kill him, and caused his departure from the city. This way of interpreting the passage will have attractions for those who try to find a place in it where they can fit in St. Paul's journey to Arabia (Gal. i. 17).

But Prof. Ramsay calls attention to the fact that "it is characteristic of Luke to define the entire stay before relating some incidents that occurred in it" (see his references to Acts xiv. 28, xviii. 11, xix. 10, xx. 6, 7, at pages 153, 256, and 289 of *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*). This being so, it seems probable that the correct interpretation of the passage Acts ix. 19–25 is to take the "certain days" of verse 19 as describing the whole period of Saul's stay in Damascus, during which period all the incidents which follow in the narrative took place.

It would be an argument in favour of this way of understanding the passage that it gives an intelligible sense to the word "straightway" (εὐθέως) in verse 20, namely, immediately after Saul had taken food and recovered his strength (*vv.* 19, 20), while, according to the ordinary interpretation, εὐθέως stands in an awkward position, coming after an indefinite statement of time. It would be intelligible if we were told that Saul was five, or ten, or fifty days with the disciples, and then immediately began to preach. But what meaning are we to attach to the statement that he was "certain days" in Damascus and then immediately began to preach? "Immediately" ought to be preceded by some definite statement as to time, either expressed or implied. It would convey no distinct meaning to say that a person lived a good many years in England and immediately went to France, which is the kind of sentence which results from the common way of understanding this passage.

When I wrote the above paragraphs I did not know that Prof. Ramsay was himself one of those who divide St. Paul's stay at Damascus into two periods corresponding to the "certain days" and "many days" respectively of the narrative in Acts, and find place for the journey to Damascus in a supposed interval between these two periods. But I have since read to the end of his book, and I find that at page 380 he says:

> Luke divides Paul's stay at Damascus into two periods, a few days' residence with the disciples (ix. 19), and a long period of preaching (20–23). The quiet residence in the country for a time, recovering from the serious and prostrating effect of his conversion (for a man's life is not suddenly reversed without serious claim on his physical power), is the dividing fact between the two periods. The division is certainly very awkwardly and insufficiently indicated; but Luke everywhere shows similar weakness in indicating the temporal relations of events (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 380).

I quite agree with Prof. Ramsay that "the division"—if

division there be—" is certainly very awkwardly and insufficiently indicated." Might we not go farther, and say that it is not indicated at all? There is no mention or suggestion of it, and the use of the word εὐθέως (straightway), if it be understood as Prof. Ramsay must understand it, does not permit us to suppose that St. Luke meant that there was such an interval between the end of the " certain days " and the beginning of St. Paul's preaching as would leave room for the insertion of the journey to Arabia. The passage runs:

> And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway (εὐθέως) he preached Christ in the synagogues, that He is the Son of God.[1]

If we set aside the desire to reconcile the Acts with St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, is not the most natural reading of the whole passage that which is suggested by Prof. Ramsay's own observation that " Luke's rule is to state first the whole period of residence, and then some details of the residence " (p. 289), namely, that there are no two periods, and therefore no interval between them, but first a general statement after St. Luke's manner that St. Paul was certain days with the disciples in Damascus after his recovery, and then the statement that all this time was spent in preaching in the synagogues until the hostility of the Jews compelled the disciples to send him away?

JOHN A. CROSS.

[1] In Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament the paragraph division at Acts ix. 19 is not uniform with that at xiv. 28, though the structure of the sentences is the same. Compare Acts ix. 19; ix. 43; xi. 26; xiv. 28; xvi. 12; xviii. 11; xix. 10; xx. 6; xxi. 4; xxi. 10.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Perseverance of the Saints.

This doctrine has been described by the greatest of Puritan theologians as the "very salt of the covenant of grace," and it is clothed in words of majestic sound, but it has had two readings, one of which is neither worthy nor reasonable. People have been apt to imagine that by this perseverance is simply intended that however a man may live, and whatever he may do, if only he has been the object of the Divine love and has accepted the offer of the Divine mercy, he will be kept from destruction in this present life and afterwards will receive the heavenly kingdom. Certain in ages past, and some possibly at this present, have persuaded themselves that they are free from the obligations of the moral law, and that they are at liberty to sin without punishment, because, as they believe, their names are written in the Book of Life and they are the favourites of the Eternal. Under no circumstances can they be cast out or finally be lost, since the doors of hell are for ever barred against them and the doors of heaven are ever opened for their entrance. No deed of theirs, they would argue, can revert the decrees of God or baffle His purposes, and the very grace of God may become to them the minister and safeguard of sin. Were this the doctrine of perseverance, it would be difficult to imagine one more absolutely unreasonable, since it would make the choice of God an arbitrary caprice wherein God has elected a person for no reason, and would not afterwards change His choice even for the strongest reason. Nor could one imagine a doctrine more thoroughly immoral,

because it not only tolerates wickedness, but bestows upon it the absolute favour of the Almighty, so that a man has been selected to fulfil the lusts of the flesh and to escape their punishment. Had this been the doctrine of perseverance, then it would have been a singular curse to all men who believed it, and long ago would have been cast out of the Christian faith with loathing and contumely.

This doctrine can be best understood in the light of its own terms, since the perseverance which is mentioned therein is the perseverance of the saints, and is never to be understood to be the perseverance of sinners. Among various desires which visit the human heart from time to time surely one of the worthiest is the passion for holiness. There come to us moments when we are ashamed of our sins, and desire to cast them off; other moments when we wrestle with sin and with principalities and powers of the evil world; moments when we are beaten and gravely discouraged in the spiritual conflict; other moments when we overcome and our hearts are filled with pure gladness. Again and again this question comes to one's mind as the day of life goes on and draws to its close, Am I to be beaten or victorious? and in the end shall I attain unto the heights of perfection in Christ Jesus after which I have striven, or shall I come short to the breaking of my heart? It is a question which deserves an answer, and it is answered in this doctrine. Some aims of life may not be attained: if a man will hunger for riches or for glory, he may be miserably disappointed. Some aims are bound to be attained; and if a man will make it the chief purpose and effort of his life to achieve holiness, he shall not be put to confusion either in this world or in that which is to come. What he has loved and striven after, what he has thought of in the quiet of the night, and in the midst of the day's business, as beyond all gain of this world shall be granted unto him, and granted beyond all that he ever could have imagined.

Whosoever fails the saint shall succeed, and whosoever misses his inheritance it shall not be the saint in light. This is the perseverance of the saint: it is the triumph of spiritual character.

The strong grounds on which this doctrine rests are various in their character, but they conspire together in their effect, and the first is the purpose of the Eternal. No one can study the physical world with any intelligence and not observe that from the beginning in the lowest and most helpless forms of life up to the consummation of physical creation in man, there has been a sustained progress towards perfection. As often as we see absolute imperfection in nature we conclude either that there has been some catastrophe or that there has been some arrestment. We expect to see at every stage a temporary and modified perfection, and that we accept as the prophecy of a final and complete perfection. Perfection first in progress and then in completion is a law of the physical universe. When we pass into the spiritual universe, we are surely right in judging that the same law will hold good according to its new circumstances and with its new subjects. The soul may be at first only a rude form of spiritual life, but as time comes and goes and the agencies of the spiritual world play upon it, the obedient and receptive soul will surely advance from stage to stage until it stands complete according to the type of its kind. If it is the case that the energy of God in the outer world working through long periods of time has never flagged and has not failed of its intention, then is there any one who can believe that the same energy directed to yet higher ends and trusted in by far higher creatures, will fail and grow weary before their desire and the mind of God have been fulfilled. Whom He called, them He justified; whom He justified, them he also glorified, is the certain and irresistible evolution of grace.

Another ground for this doctrine is the life of our Master,

since it is ever to be remembered that according to the theory of Christianity a man's future hinges not upon his own achievements but upon the achievement of his Lord. No one has reached the Christian standpoint—the standpoint, that is to say, of St. Paul and St. John—who can regard the agony and victory of our Lord as isolated and personal. When He came, it was not for Himself but for His Church; and when He resisted the enemy and trampled him under foot, it was for His Church; and when He died upon the cross, it was still for His Church; and when He rose from the dead, He rose again for the Church; and when He ascended into the heavenly places, the Church ascended also; and now when He offers His ceaseless intercession, it is as the High Priest of the people for whom He has entered within the veil and whom He represents. The lot of the Church and the lot of Jesus Christ are inextricably and eternally bound up together, and what holds good of the Church as a whole is true also of each one of her members. The Christian idea is that the disciples and the Lord are so entirely one, that in the history of the disciples the history of the Lord is repeated. In St. Paul or St. John or the most obscure and weakest of all the saints Christ is tempted of the Evil One and overcomes: Christ endures the trials of this present life and is not cast down, Christ obeys the will of God and finishes the work God gave Him to do. Christ is crucified unto sin and lives unto righteousness: He endured great travail and has won His recompense, which is to reap the fruit of His triumph in innumerable human lives which He guards and sanctifies, which He will present blameless unto the Father. When the disciple desires to strengthen his heart in the conflict of the soul, it is not wise for him to look overmuch within, and to take account of his inherent weakness, nor is it wise for him to look without upon the massed forces of evil and to allow his imagination to be darkened. His faith ought to look

without, but it also at the same time ought to look upward, nor rest till it has established itself in the very midst of the throne and upon the Lamb who once was slain. The hope of the Christian's ultimate victory and sure perfection is drawn from the Resurrection and the Ascension of Jesus Christ, His session upon the throne and His unceasing mediation. Were the poorest and feeblest disciple who had ever trusted and loved his Lord to be left a prey unto sin and be caught finally in the bondage of the Evil One, then the fruit of Christ's victory on Calvary had been taken from His hands, and the crown of gold had been replaced again by the crown of thorns. "None shall pluck you out of my hand," said the Lord and Good Shepherd to His dismayed and helpless flock; and since He said that word His hand has been pierced and has received the sceptre of the Cross whereby He has obtained all power in heaven above, and on the earth beneath, and in the dark places which are underneath the earth. Should one of His disciples miss the everlasting city, and be left in the outer darkness, then has this strong promise of the Lord been a thing of naught —a word which Satan had torn in pieces and flung in His face—and the power conferred upon Him in virtue of His Sacrifice had been only an empty show, a power which could be flouted and brought into contempt. Christ Himself declared plainly that for weal or woe He and they who trusted in Him would stand together, so that they could not be in the darkness and He in the light, nor He upon the throne and they in the prison when the end of all things has come, and every man is judged according to the law of God. "Where I am," He declared, "there ye shall be also, and because I live ye shall also live." Wherefore if you look closely into this matter, the perseverance of the saints is another word for the perseverance of Jesus Christ.

The hope of perseverance also builds her home in the love of God, because faith remembers that God is not only our

Creator and our Governor, but that He also is our Father. Between a master and a father there is one great difference, which affords strong consolation to the believer. A master may be kind and considerate, but it is not expected of him that he should endure stupidity and incapacity beyond a point, and no master would be justified in condoning moral faults and shifty character. But a father, he must bear with the children who call him by this name, and who by the very word compel his patience. It is not possible for him to chide them as the world does, or to cast them out from his home as an unprofitable servant is discharged by his master. They are his whom he has brought into the world, and who bear his likeness, to whom his heart is knit, and whom he is bound to succour. With what thoughtfulness and foresight, with what gentleness and consideration, does a father deal with the failings of his children, encouraging them in every good endeavour, tenderly complaining of their wilful faults, covering over their inevitable infirmities and looking forward with expectation to a day of more perfect manhood. And God is the Father of our souls, in whom there is no variableness neither shadow of turning, in whom all the wisdom and patience of a frail earthly parent are raised to their supreme height and are glorified. Is not the whole system of providence a series of selected and regulated means by which the souls of God's children may be carved and shaped after the likeness of Christ? God's chastisements are represented in Holy Scripture as the evidence of His love and the instrument of holiness, and even His hot anger is the fire whereby the dross is cleansed away from human lives. He cannot be angry for ever with His children because He is a Father, and, according to the prophet Hosea—a prophet whose heart was made tender unto the breaking by the sorrows of his own home—the heart of the Eternal repents even of His just judgments, so that it cries aloud as in an agony

of affection. God remembers when Israel was a child and He called His son out of Egypt, when He taught Ephraim to walk, holding His children by their arms as a mother her little one. Very greatly had Israel sinned, and very far short had Israel come of the glory of God; but Israel was not a stranger nor a servant; Israel could not be dismissed for righteousness' sake; Israel could not be forgotten for love's sake: "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim, how shall I deliver thee, Israel? . . . Mine heart is turned within Me, My repentings are kindled together." The wisdom and the love of God are pledged unto the believer, and the perseverance of the saints is bound up with the Fatherhood of God.

According to the Bible, the saints have also greatly strengthened their hearts in the hope of victory, because they are firmly persuaded that their souls and God are bound together in a covenant which cannot be broken. This conviction is one of the secret things of the religious life which cannot be judged by reason and cannot be proved unto the outer world. As a man and woman may be knit together in ties of affection which are not known unto their neighbours, nor, indeed, can be declared, but which are the strongest bond on earth, so is it with the believer and God. The Eternal has spoken to him with a clear and unmistakable voice, and he has obeyed the call of God. What God asked of him was trust, and trust he has given. What God promised to him was His goodwill, and this goodwill God will surely give. While strangers seek to find God in the design of creation and in the march of history, this man knows God within his own soul, and there holds communion with Him. There have been many passages between him and God wherein God has complained of him and he has complained to God, wherein God has rebuked him and he has repented at the feet of God, wherein God has comforted him and he has said, "My

God!" As the years passed this friendship has become as the marriage bond, and the saint no more expects that it could be broken than a wife could believe that her husband would cast her off. Through the Old Testament the prophets returned again and again to the hope of the covenant, and declared that the mountains might depart and the hills be removed, but the covenant of peace between God and His people would never be broken. In the New Testament Jesus takes up the same beautiful conception in the upper room when He declares that the Sacrament of His Body and Blood is the sign and substance of this covenant. Before it had been stated in faithfulness, and the Word of God is exceeding strong: it is now sealed with blood, and believers have two things wherein to trust —the Word of God and the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ. As often, therefore, as the believer takes the Sacrament he pledges himself as in an oath to trust, to love, and to obey, and since there be two in a covenant, and the other be God, He in His turn pledges Himself to endure, to deliver, and to sanctify. Should, therefore, any believer be in the end put to confusion and fail to obtain the prize of holiness, he will leave the gate of the Heavenly City with the dishonoured covenant of the Eternal in his hands and be able to boast that his faithfulness has been greater than the Word of his God. God would then, to use the bold figure in the Epistle to the Hebrews, be ashamed because men had trusted in Him even unto death, and risked their souls upon the trust, and He had played them false; and therefore is it that however hard may be the road the saint shall travel, and however it may wind before it come to its close, it will one day bring him in by the gate into the City, and every one shall appear before God in Zion. And neither the God who invited this trust nor they who trusted will be put to shame.

Lest this sublime doctrine should be abused, it is guarded

in Holy Scripture by certain wholesome terrors of the soul and certain solemn warnings of the Almighty. The Psalms breathe a spirit of absolute confidence in God and of strong hope; but it is a Psalmist who has known God and who clings to God, who lifts up his heart in supplication that God would not cast him from His presence nor take away His Spirit. No one in the New Testament has asserted the perseverance of the saints with greater strength of reason or more passionate heat of affection than St. Paul, yet it is this apostle who entreats his Christian flock to use all diligence and to make their calling and election sure; who is sometimes stricken with fear lest he himself, who had preached the gospel and made converts for Christ, should at last be a castaway. There are also in the Hebrew Epistles certain passages which will always be a battle-ground between Arminians and Calvinists, and which, at any rate, may make the most confident take heed to his steps and save the most foolish believer from presumption. It is salutary for every one who is walking in the narrow way, which leadeth upward to the stars, to remember the precipices which are on either side and the hopelessness of him who wantonly flings himself over their edge. Should any one who has been cleansed in the blood of Christ trample Christ's sacrifice under foot through persistent love of sin, or should any one who had learned to call Him Lord deliberately deny His name, then it cannot be with him even as it was with David when he repented, and Peter when he wept bitterly, for this man has hardened his heart, and has forsaken the Lord who redeemed him. Whether it be possible that any disciple of Christ should fall into such utter impenitence may be questioned, but the mere thought of such a possibility is enough to make us give heed unto our steps and to keep steadfastly in the way of faith and righteousness. And if it be a good thing that our ways should at certain places be hedged up with thorns in

the trials and affliction of this present world so that we be allured not away from the royal road of the Cross, it is also a good thing that on the right hand and left of our way, when it is in high places of success and of light, there should be precipices whose very sight fills our soul with fear and makes us cling the closer to our guide.

Besides, if any believer should be so left to himself as to imagine that he can sin with impunity or even afford to be careless, he will be quickly undeceived. If God should not cast him off, but should remember His covenant, He will certainly see to it that this man be saved as by fire. In his sin he never can be saved; but while in his sin he will be visited with strong judgments of the Almighty, so that his own soul, and perhaps the public world, shall behold his punishment. No man will ever be punished more severely than the saint, or have a more overwhelming view of the Divine righteousness. Of all the sufferers in Old Testament history I take it that the chief was not Pharaoh nor Jezebel, but the patriarch Jacob; for every sin he committed he suffered double, and after the kind in which he had sinned, till he went down to his grave a sorrowful man, sanctified, but sanctified by the rod. David fell into the snare which besets rich and sensuous natures, so that he disgraced his own character and the name of God which he had mentioned, and the last years of David's life were years of trouble and of shame. He was not finally rejected, but he was severely chastised, and remains a monument as much of the righteousness as of the faithfulness of God. If it be difficult to understand the cowardice of Simon Peter's denial, it is more difficult to estimate the bitterness of his tears. Many and comfortable are the promises given unto the backslider in Holy Scripture, but searching and severe has been his discipline, so that when he returns unto the Lord it is with bent head and broken heart, never again to depart from the ways of righteousness.

Doubtless every one who has obeyed the invitation of God and set sail for the new world with an honest heart shall come at last into the fair haven of peace, whatever storm and head winds he may meet on the way; but all will not come in after the same fashion. Some ships will make the harbour mouth with difficulty, with torn sails and bare decks, and heavy losses—hardly saved; others will enter the harbour with a flowing tide and a following wind, their sails full set and showing white in the light of the sun, and they shall have an abundant entrance into the heavenly kingdom. Some believers may only escape to the shore on broken pieces of their ship, humiliated and half-dead, like David; others, like St. Paul, will come in as treasure ships, bearing with them the argosy of sacrifices and of services beyond all human reckoning, and at the very sight of their coming the inhabitants of the other land shall gather to bid them welcome and to escort them into the presence of the King.

JOHN WATSON.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

VII. RELATION TO PHILOSOPHY.

THIS digression on baptism leads on to another. Paul has been led to affirm that his special duty and gift lay in preaching, and he again goes off to state emphatically the principle in his preaching. He had not trusted to philosophic argument, for to do so would be to distrust the power that lies in simply preaching the Cross.

But this second digression brings him back to the original and main topic. The strength and at the same time the weakness of the Greek intellect lay in its acuteness, its capacity for making delicate distinctions and re-

finements, and its philosophic subtlety. The Corinthians shared in this Greek characteristic, and their habit of discussing and philosophizing about the doctrine of Christ was distracting their view from realities to unimportant distinctions. Just as it had led them to make that vain and dangerous distinction between the Christ of Paul and the Christ of Apollos and the supposed real Christ that lay behind them, till they forgot that Paul and Apollos and Peter were mere instruments of the one Christ, so also it prevented them from properly seeing and feeling the power that lay in the Cross and in the simple preaching of the Cross. While they discussed and criticised the style and the content of Paul's preaching, and subtly analyzed it, and delicately weighed its philosophic value, they lost sight of the one and only reality in it—the Cross of Christ.

On this topic Paul enlarges at great length and from various points of view (i.–iv.). In this theological discussion we notice only the following features, which suggest certain historical inferences.

1. Paul is continually striking at the philosophic vice of the Corinthians. They have not learned that the first step in the true philosophy is to strip from themselves every shred and scrap of their acquired knowledge, like Descartes in the beginning of his *Discourse on the Method of Using the Reason Aright*: they must begin as bare as they came into the world, and build up their nature anew: they must make themselves babes, and grow into strength through weakness: they must cease to feel themselves to be philosophers, and recognise that they are fools, in order that they may be able to commence to learn. The beginning of true knowledge lies in the recognition of one's ignorance. Mere words of philosophic insight are absolutely inefficacious: the Corinthians must seek for that which has in it force and motive power, which can move the will: "for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power" (iv. 20).

This state—the fully realizing and simply confessing of one's ignorance and natural incapacity—is called by Paul "folly," for to the clever Corinthians and the sophisticated man of the world it seems the character of a fool and a simpleton. But Paul only says all the more emphatically that a man must become a fool, a simpleton, in order that he may become wise (iii. 18): to become simple is the necessary and unavoidable first step on the road to the Divine Sophia.

On the moral side that same quality of "folly" would be the character that, from an innate rightness and healthiness, revolted against the impurity and frivolity of surrounding society, and declined to make pleasure, wealth, power, the absorbing aim and end of life. In the most corrupt state of Roman society we observe striking examples of this simplicity and purity, examples that gather lustre and beauty in contrast to the worldliness around them, but which were liable to be ridiculed in refined and fashionable society as "folly."

2. Paul distinctly has in his mind, as he thinks of the Corinthian position, the Stoic paradox that the philosopher is everywhere sufficient for himself, always master of his circumstances, rich, powerful, free (though he be in prison or in a hovel), wise, everywhere king.

> *Sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives,*
> *Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.*
>
> The sage is half divine,
> Rich, free, great, handsome, king of kings in fine.[1]

Throughout the Epistle that thought recurs. The Corinthians "have knowledge." To them all things are lawful.[2] They are masters of their world. Especially,

[1] Horace, *Epist.* I. 106. f., translation by Conington.

[2] 1 *Cor.* viii. 1 ff., as excellently interpreted by Prof. W. Lock, see EXPOSITOR, July, 1897, pp. 67, 73.

the thought gives point to the sarcastic contrast between them and the apostles (iv. 8 ff.): "Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us[1]. . . . We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are powerful; ye are honoured, but we are dishonourable." The thought which was stated in a complimentary way in i. 5, "Ye were enriched in all utterance and in all knowledge," is here given in a sarcastic form in iv. 10, but the word changes from γνῶσις to φρόνιμος.

The same thought underlies the remarkable language of iii. 21 f.: "All things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas, or the world, or life or death, or things present, or things to come—all are yours." But here it is neither ironical, as in iv. 8 ff., nor complimentary, as in i. 5; it is the word of a seer and a mystic.

3. The most remarkable feature of the whole passage (i.–iv.) is the ease and deftness with which Paul turns to his own purposes the ideas of philosophy. While he draws out in long detail the sarcastic contrast between the clever, able, successful Corinthians, and the foolish, helpless, hapless apostles, or between the grace and skill of Greek philosophy and his own humble, simple, unadorned preaching, he is really handling the deep topics of philosophy with a mastery that no other could have shown. And the most marvellous fact about the modern appreciation of these marvellous four chapters is, that many commentators and writers take his sarcastic humility with perfect seriousness, and almost pity this wretched, uneducated, narrow, bigoted Jew, who has, "with stammering lips and insufficient tongue," to stand before the polished Greeks.

In truth Paul is here creating a Christian philosophy, and constructing a philosophic language to express it. It was not so difficult a task to make the Greek tongue express

[1] The Revised Version is much inferior here to the Authorised Version.

this new philosophic theology as it was 150 years later for Tertullian to re-express the Christian philosophy in the hard and intractable and anti-philosophic Latin, for Greek lent itself naturally and readily to the expresssion of high and ideal thought. But still it was by no means an easy task; and only a mind trained both in Greek philosophy and in Hebraic theology could have achieved it with the perfection that Paul has attained—a perfection so complete that the words become living, and brand themselves in the readers' hearts.

Paul is fully conscious of the nature of his task. He has to express the Sophia of God (i. 21; ii. 7), *i.e.* Christ who is the Sophia of God (i. 24, 30). So far is Paul from objecting to Sophia; his special work is as much to set forth the true Sophia, as to destroy the false Sophia. He is the *σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων*, the philosophic architect, who lays the foundation for others to build upon (iii. 10). He has to create the language in which to express that true Sophia: the Sophia and the words in which to express it are both the gift of God: "We received . . . the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us by God: which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth, fitting spiritual words to spiritual ideas" (ii. 12 f.). So also, "We speak Sophia among the mature; we speak the Sophia of God, the Divine system of true philosophy, the hidden scheme in which the intentions of God in the world find expression; and we speak it in the form of a mystery" (ii. 6 f.).

To set forth that Sophia was the work of Paul, the duty for which he was sent; and to that work he must necessarily devote his whole attention, leaving to others the work of baptizing (with all that was implied therein, much more than the performance of the ritual act), as we have seen in § VI.

4. Paul's severity towards Greek philosophy must not be misunderstood or exaggerated. It implies neither ignorance nor mere stolid resistance to education. One may inveigh against bad education, without being an opponent or depreciator of education. Just as, to the Judaizing Phrygians of the province Galatia Paul inveighs against the evils and dangers of Judaic formalism, so here to the disputatious and sophistic Greeks of Corinth he inveighs against the evils and dangers of philosophic verbalism and juggling with arguments; but, in regard alike to Judaic ritual and to philosophical education, there was another side to Paul's opinion which is revealed in his life and work and in other parts of his letters. He held both that Jewish birth and blood implied the obligation to observe and practise the whole Jewish ritual (1 *Cor.* vii. 18), and that the Christian must learn from the world around all that is best in that world.[1]

VIII. The Early Christians as a Part of Society.

In attempting to understand aright the position and character of an early Christian community, we must be on our guard against the idea that all that was best in contemporary society tended toward Christianity. That was by no means the case. Those who were the most educated—in the best sense — those who were most refined and high-minded—those who were purest in life and aspirations—were often entirely content with their theories of the world and of the Divine nature; and, in spite of the general corruption of Pagan society, there were many striking examples of noble purity of spirit and life in the Roman Empire at the time when Paul was preaching.

In Roman official life, too, there were many admirable officers, devoted to their work, honest and incorruptible, with a splendid ideal of what a Roman official should be

[1] *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 149.

and should do.[1] It was by no means the case that these tended to become Christians. The routine of official life made many of them quite incapable of assimilating such new ideas as that men should think for themselves, and should refuse to accept the State worship which was the very essence and criterion of loyalty to the Empire.

There were undoubtedly many of those early Christians who, taken in the naked reality of human character, were not equal in tone and spirit to many of the best Pagans, and in themselves were incapable of rising to the same high level of life, or the same sanity and clearness of judgment. I am not thinking of mere hypocrites, who may have joined the Church from mere selfish motives; there were such, we may be sure, even though Christianity offered little worldly inducement. The fire of persecution under Nero and Domitian and later emperors, doubtless, cleared the Church of them, to a large extent, from time to time, though peace would always bring them back. But we cannot doubt that many of the genuinely devout Christians in Corinth and Ephesus and everywhere were very commonplace individuals; some were naturally of low and vulgar nature in many respects. They represented the average, imperfectly educated stratum of ordinary society. They had by no means shaken off all the habits of thought instilled into them by Pagan parents and surroundings when they became Christians. They required to be constantly watched, corrected, incited, guided, reprimanded, encouraged. Their history was certain not to be a steady, uniform progress towards excellence: no human progress ever is so, except in the imagination of some theorists on religious history. There would assuredly

[1] The letters of the younger Pliny about his uncle show us a thoroughly conscientious, hardworking, and humane officer; and the fact that he was far from brilliant intellectually makes him all the better a representative of the average.

be frequently a tendency among them to slip back into their old Pagan habits and thoughts, to mix up old superstitions with new religious ideas. Some of them were quite unable to rise to the Christian ideal. Paul must often blame them for faults utterly unworthy of the religion they professed; and in this letter we find many proofs that much patience and much hopefulness were needed in treating the Corinthian Church.

Paul gives a brief picture of the general social standing of the members of his Churches in 1 *Corinthians* i. 26. This picture is not intended (as has sometimes been assumed) for a description of the Corinthian Church specially, but we may safely assume that that Church was not widely different from the other Pauline Churches. In that passage Paul bids the Corinthians (i. 26) observe the principle that lies in the calling of Christians out of the world into the Church: not a large number of those whom the world counts its philosophers—not a large number from the official class clothed with the authority of the Empire or of the municipalities—not many out of the old and aristocratic families—have been selected. No one within the Church should plume himself in his advanced education or his official rank or his long descent, for though a few Christians possessed these worldly advantages, the reason of their calling lay not in those, but in very different qualifications.

This passage is often misinterpreted as proving that the early Church was mainly drawn from the dregs of society. No such implication lies in it. To the historian the fact stands out clear that the work of the Christian Church in society was to create or to enlarge the educated, the thoughtful middle class; and that those who were most suitable to form such a class were those who tended to drift towards the Christian Church. Hence the Church, when it was at its best, represented the force that stood in opposition, but in perfectly loyal opposition (as it always maintained), to

the imperial government, because the government claimed to think for its people as a parent for his infant children, while the Christians claimed to think for themselves.[1]

It is probably true that the class of freedmen and slaves was strongly represented in the Church. But the freedmen, as a class, were set free because their natural ability and character had made them more useful to their masters free than as slaves; they were to a remarkable degree a moneyed class, and their money had been made amid great disadvantages by sheer force of character and conduct. At the same time they were also, as a rule, devoid of the higher education (which was almost entirely restricted to the free citizens), and as rich and uneducated and unpolished *parvenus*, they were often exposed to the ridicule of satirists and the contempt of the aristocratic and free born.

But they were also a class in which the average of ability and natural gifts must have been high; a class of self-made men, many of them possessing considerable aspirations, all of them endowed with much enterprise and energy—distinctly a vigorous stock. They were not separated from the free population around them by any obvious barrier of colour and race, as are the emancipated coloured population in the United States of America at the present time. Hence the stigma of slave descent could not be permanently maintained through generations, and neither law nor custom tried to do so.[2] Yet this vigorous, able class rested under various disabilities and disqualifications, which rendered it an element of real danger to the

[1] This is one main thought of *The Church in the Roman Empire*.

[2] The son of a freedman was *ingenuus*, and free from many of the disabilities of his slave-born sire; the grandson of a freedman was free from all disabilities, and could rise to all *honores* in the State (Claudius introduced a stricter rule, but did not maintain it; see Sueton. *Claud.* 24). This was true only of the most representative classes of freedmen—viz., those set free by the most complete and legal methods, *vindicta*, etc.

state. Augustus, with his marvellous power of foreseeing and guarding against possible sources of disturbance in society, recognised and provided against this danger by creating a special sphere for the activities and ambition of that large class. A career was provided for freedmen, subordinate in character, yet opening to them distinctions, outward show, official dress and equipment, and abundant opportunity of gratifying vanity, and parading before the public eye their wealth and ostentatious liberality; and, like all Augustus's provisions, this special career was directed into the Imperial service and worship, so as to attract the feelings of the whole class towards the person of the emperor.[1] But, like almost all the Imperial arrangements, it had one serious evil. It appealed to the worse side of man's nature: it tended to develop and employ the freedmen's energies on the side of personal vanity and empty show alone: it was absolutely without educational effect: it was killing to the loftier impulses, while it gave free play to the more contemptible qualities. It was part of the general Imperial policy—food and amusements to the poor, dress and parade to the freedmen—which, while it made them loyal at the moment, inevitably degraded and debased in the course of generations the tone of society in the empire.

The slaves who were attracted to the new religion were, doubtless, for the most part of similar type to the freedmen, and may be classed along with them. They were those who were on the way to earn emancipation.

The freedmen were, as a rule, engaged in trade, and were, on the whole, a moneyed class. All of them, of course, used Greek as their ordinary speech in Corinth. The wealthy *parvenu* freedman was often satirized for his unsuccessful attempts to ape the manners of higher classes

[1] Such seems a fair account of the theory underlying Augustus's institution of the *Seviri Augustales*.

in society. In that Greek city he would imitate Greek fashionable society with a strain, perhaps, of Roman manners added, for the freedmen, as a body, owed their position to Roman law.

In Corinth the names Fortunatus, Achaicus, Gaius, probably indicate freedmen. Fortunatus was a characteristic servile name. Achaicus belongs to the class of geographical names, which (when not titles of honour bestowed on Roman conquerors) were commonly servile. Gaius was a *prænomen*, and the right to bear a *prænomen* was the distinguishing mark of freedom: hence a freedman loved to be addressed by his *prænomen*, as Horace says,

> "Good Quintus," say, or "Publius" (nought endears
> A speaker more than this to slavish[1] ears).
>
> "Quinte," puta, aut "Publi" (gaudent prænomine molles
> Auriculæ).

Gaius, of Corinth, then, was probably a rich freedman, to whom the honourable duty of entertaining the guests of the Church was assigned (*Rom.* xvi. 23). In his Pagan days he would have aimed at the honourable position of a *Sevir Augustalis*.[2]

After the preceding paragraphs were in type, an excellent illustration recurred to my memory. The freedman Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio in Petronius's romance (which furnishes the only surviving picture of contemporary Pagan society of the freedman class) is regularly spoken about and addressed, both by his household and by his friends, as "Gaius" simply. "Gaius Noster" was the name that pleased and flattered him. He was *Sevir Augustalis* at

[1] *i.e.*, the ears of one who has been a slave, but who is now marked by the *prænomen* as free. Hor. *Sat.* II. 5, 33.

[2] In Asia Minor a name like Gaius or Lucius was often assumed by a provincial as his single name of the Greek fashion. In such cases Gaius or Lucius is no longer a *prænomen*, but has become a non-Roman name. That custom was, however, not common in Greece at this time, but belonged rather to the less educated cities.

Cumae, and a leading personage there in his own class and set. The contrast between Christian and Pagan society at this time could not be more strikingly and pointedly brought out than by a comparison between the two contemporary Gaiuses in the surroundings amid which each moved and lived. Petronius was writing only a very few years after Paul (earlier than A.D. 66), and he lays his scene about A.D. 47–57.[1]

Tertius and Quartus are also names which, perhaps, point to freedmen: in that case they would be actually names of slaves, who would retain them, as *cognomina*, after being set free. But they might equally well belong to provincials, especially resident strangers, not pure Greeks by birth, who settled in Corinth for purposes of trade.

The inference from these facts, and from the whole tone of the Epistle, is that the Church in Corinth contained a very considerable number of persons belonging to the well-to-do class of busy traders, many of whom were actually freedmen, some of whom probably were still slaves. But, when we read of slaves, we are not to think of oppressed and degraded human chattels, like those of the cotton plantations in modern Mississippi before 1860, or of the similar class in the ancient *ergastula*, where the gang-system was practised on great estates, but of the household slaves and town slaves, well treated, on the whole comfortable, and enjoying considerable privileges according to an unwritten code of customs. These persons constituted, not indeed the majority, but certainly the strength, of the Christian community in Corinth;[2] and besides them there were also a few persons of the higher classes, philosophers, officials imperial or municipal (such as, at Athens, Dionysius the Areopagite); and around the

[1] So Friedländer, *Cena Trimalchionis*, p. 7. Some place the scene under Augustus or Tiberius. On the name Gaius, see Friedländer, p. 207.

[2] There are certain dangers, liable always to arise from the predominance of this "middle" class; and these can, perhaps, be observed in this letter.

Church there was a fringe of persons interested, but not actually converts (such as the friendly Ariarchs in Ephesus, the proconsul in Cyprus, and so on).

To all these there must, of course, be added a large number of the really poor, the suffering class in society. There was plenty of opportunity for the well-to-do Christians in Corinth to exercise charity among their associates in the Church as well as outside of it, and perhaps to plume themselves a little on their charity and virtue. But the tone of ironical admiration of the rich, clever, influential Corinthian Christians in iv. loses all its effect if it is taken as addressed to a congregation of the poor and needy and humble only. It is addressed to persons who prided themselves not a little on their success in life and on the skill with which they had assimilated the manners of the most highly-educated and aristocratic classes.

Such was the Corinthian Church; and, as we have said, the other Pauline Churches were not widely different. But this first Corinthian letter conveys a stronger impression of wealth and ease, and of the faults incidental to them, than any other of Paul's letters.

IX. Sosthenes and Chloe.

Sosthenes (i. 1) is a doubtful personality. The name was a common one; and Sosthenes of Corinth, who is mentioned in *Acts* xviii. 12, need not necessarily have been the same person. But, if the two were the same, then certainly the History would be found very illuminative of the Epistle.

Sosthenes of Acts was a Jew of rank, still unconverted in the latter part of Paul's stay in Corinth; and if he be the Sosthenes of the Epistle, he must have been converted, possibly by Apollos; and his influential position in Corinth would be the reason why he is named as associate author of the Epistle. If he were one of Apollos's

converts, there would be special reason why he should be associated as joint author to stamp with his authority the warnings against criticism and faction.

We can, however, be certain only of one thing, viz., that Sosthenes, the author of the Epistle, was a person known to the Corinthians, and standing in some position of authority as a teacher or preacher among them. Such was necessarily the case with an associate author of the letter to the Corinthians.[1]

Chloe (i. 11) is unknown. Nothing can be affirmed about her; and yet some probable inferences follow from the reference to her. We cannot suppose that Paul quotes the statement of messengers sent by one of the factious Corinthians as trustworthy evidence about the factions. It is clear that "the representatives of Chloe" are quoted as being in themselves good and sufficient witnesses, and therefore they must have stood outside the factions as external observers. Paul does not desire that Stephanas, or Fortunatus, or Achaicus, should be taken as his authorities; they were Corinthians, probably affected by the common fault of Corinthians; and it could only cause ill-feeling, if they were understood to be his authorities. Chloe, therefore, was not a Corinthian. She was an outsider; and her representatives were unprejudiced witnesses in the matter.

Again, when we observe the important position of this woman, who was evidently head of a household, and perhaps of a business (like the Lydian woman from Thyatira at Philippi), we must recognise that Chloe was much more likely to belong to Asia Minor than to Greece. In Asia Minor, particularly in the less Græcized inner parts, women occupied a much more influential position than in the Greek cities.

Probably, therefore, Chloe was a native of some city of

[1] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, § II. p. 239 f.

Asia Minor,[1] head of a business whose agents were passing to and fro between Corinth and Ephesus.

X. The Title "Corinthians."

It is noteworthy that Paul does not use the Latinized adjective *Corinthiensis*, but the simple *Corinthius*. In the case of Philippi, on the other hand, he uses the Latinized adjective *Philippensis*, Φιλιππήσιος in Greek.

Now, it has been pointed out in *Hist. Comm. Gal.* § XXV.[2] what an important and characteristic feature is that use of the Latinized form of the adjective. It is exceedingly rare in Greek, and occurs only where the city is distinctively Roman and Latin. When Paul addressed the people of Philippi as *Philippenses*, he signified by this term that he regarded them as "men of a Roman *Colonia*," Latins, not Greeks. We are reminded of the pointed description of Philippi in *Acts* xvi. 12 as a *Colonia*; and we remember how many Roman features appear in the incidents narrated at Philippi.[3] Paul and Luke illustrate one another as usual. Each marks out Philippi as a city that prided itself on its dignity and its Roman character; and Paul, by addressing his converts as *Philippenses*, shows that he did not regard their pride in their own city, their *patria*, as either dead in their hearts after conversion, or as wrong in itself. The address is strikingly analogous to that in *Galatians* ii. 1, where the citizens of four cities in South Galatia are addressed as "men of the province Galatia."

But Paul does not address the Corinthians as *Corinthienses*, he writes to them as *Corinthii*. Both Corinth and Philippi were Roman colonies: why, then, the difference?

[1] Macedonia, where also women occupied a higher position than in Greece, is out of the question, because in that case the agents would rather travel between Corinth and a Macedonian harbour.

[2] Compare also § XIV.

[3] *St. Paul the Trav.*, pp. 218–224.

Is it that he saw the Church to be thoroughly Greek, and not Roman? Or is it that the adjective *Corinthius*, not *Corinthiensis*, was in regular use in the city? The Latin adjective, in fact, seems to be known only from a quotation from the grammarian Festus, who mentions it as specially used to indicate a foreigner (or a Roman colonist) residing in Corinth. But all other evidence points to *Corinthius* as being the form used invariably by Romans; and the Latinized Greek form, *Κορινθήσιος*, seems never to occur.[1] Paul therefore probably followed the Corinthian usage, which was Greek, and the Philippian usage, which was Roman. That implies that Corinth had not become so thoroughly Romanized a place as Philippi; it was distinctively a Greek city, though a Roman colony.

We remember that in *Acts* xviii. the incidents at Corinth have not a strong Roman tinge. The presence of a Roman governor and his tribunal is a feature that belongs to Corinth, not as *Colonia*, but as capital of the province. We find the purely Latin name Titius Justus and several other Latin names, especially of freedmen; but otherwise the local colour is on the whole Greek rather than Roman. There is little to remind us that Corinth was a *Colonia*, and its colonial dignity is not alluded to. Its rank as capital of Greece entirely outweighs its rank as a Roman city; and in the Bezan Text and the Textus Receptus the population are called Greeks in xviii. 17. This is an important point, deserving further notice. It has elsewhere been argued that the reading Hellenes is correct and necessary there (*St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 259); and we shall now see how much meaning the term carries with it.

Here we notice that in *Acts* the term Hellenes, or Greeks, is used with noteworthy propriety: the people of Thessa-

[1] Taken alone, the failure of the Greek form (necessarily rare in our authorities) would be unimportant.

lonica, of Berœa, of Ephesus, of Iconium, of Syrian Antioch,[1] are spoken of as Hellenes. Those were all cities which had no claim to be Roman (except in the general way of being parts of the Roman provinces Macedonia, Galatia, Syria): they were counted Greek cities, and reckoned themselves as such. But the people of the *Coloniæ* Antioch, Lystra, Philippi, are never called Hellenes. Even though in point of blood, and rank, and stock, the majority of the population were not Roman *Coloni*, but Greek-speaking natives (who in so far as they had a Greek education and knew the Greek language were, according to the current designation, Greeks); yet, where the Roman idea was vigorous, these persons preferred to hear themselves designated as residents in a Roman *Colonia* (or members of a Roman province), rather than as Greeks. The only doubtful *Colonia* is Corinth, and in that case we see that Luke and Paul agree in thinking of it as the capital of Greece rather than the Roman *Colonia*, and we can observe some probable good ground for that view.

This may seem a slight point; and some of my critics will perhaps ridicule me for dwelling so much on it. But it is precisely in such little details of custom and usage and politeness that truth to life can be judged.

There are, of course, at least two other uses of the word "Hellene" which must be distinguished from the above: (1) the generic contrast of "Jew and Greek," where "Greek" is representative of a class, and the antithesis is almost equivalent to "Jew and Gentile": (2) the use of "Greek" to imply the non-Jewish blood and descent of an individual: Timothy's father was a "Greek" (*Acts* xvi. 1, 3), Titus was a "Greek" (*Gal.* ii. 3).

[1] Corinth is doubtful (see preceding paragraph), but should probably be added to the list, if we are right in discrediting the authority of the great MSS. in *Acts* xviii. 17, and believing that the Received Text is nearer the truth.

XI. The Crime.

Paul now proceeds to a crime which had been reported to him, and had roused his extreme indignation. One of the Corinthian Christians had taken to wife his stepmother. The circumstances are not described, because they were already known to the readers; and it is not easy to attain any certainty about them. From 2 *Corinthians* vii. 12 it would appear that the father (assuming him, as seems inevitable, to be the "wronged man" there mentioned) was still living and known personally to Paul, and therefore presumably a Christian. On the other hand, the entire silence about the woman's conduct and about any punishment for her is hardly reconcilable with the idea that she was a Christian. If she were not a member of the Church, her conduct did not fall under the cognizance either of the Church or of Paul.

On the whole, then, it would appear probable that the Pagan wife had separated from her husband, and that her stepson had thereupon married her. Any other supposition seems excluded by some of the conditions of the case. We notice that ingenious special pleading could set up some sort of defence or excuse for this action, which would not be the case in a more aggravated form of the crime (*e.g.* supposing it to have been brought about by the stepson tempting the woman to leave the father for the sake of the son).

It is evident that some such special pleading was possible in this case, and was actually practised, for it seems implied without doubt that the Corinthian Church was palliating the act and acquiescing in it. The Corinthians had not reported it in their letter to Paul; they had not asked his advice about it, yet they were quite aware of the circumstances,[1] which were not concealed from the world. It must have seemed, therefore, to them to be a

[1] ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν, v. 1.

thing which concerned only the individual, and with which the Church had no right or call to interfere.

The expression by which Paul indicates the blackness of the crime—"such immorality as [*is*] not even among the Gentiles"—has been misapprehended, as if Paul meant that such an act either was unknown or at least was universally disapproved among the Gentiles.

But it was not the case that such marriages were universally disapproved among the Gentiles. On the contrary, it must have been well within Paul's knowledge that marriages between even closer relations, and blood relations,[1] were regular and customary in eastern Asia Minor, near his own city of Tarsus, and were widely practised elsewhere.

Nor was it true that Paul is thinking of Greek and Roman feeling specially, taking those two peoples and civilizations as standing for "the Gentiles." Are we to suppose that the Corinthians had become laxer in their moral judgment when they adopted Christianity, and were now ready to condone an act which in their Pagan days they would have regarded with horror? Or can we believe that Paul said so or thought so? I think not.

The real question that has to be answered is this: Would ordinary society in Corinth, or any other of the Greek cities of the Ægean coasts, have been shocked and outraged at a marriage between a man and the divorced second wife of his father? No one that has studied the state of Greek society will answer that question in the affirmative. Every one knows that there was not in those cities such strictness of moral judgment. Greek custom and law had always been very lax as to restrictions on marriage. Marriage of uncle and niece, or aunt and nephew, had al-

[1] Marriages between parent and child, or between brother and sister: Eusebius and Basil speak very emphatically about these customs in Asia Minor (eastern), and I have pointed out in the *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1897, p. 125 f., various facts bearing on this.

ways been freely permitted in Athens. Stepbrother and stepsister might contract marriage with one another, if their relationship were through the father (though not if it were through the mother). When certain marriages are stigmatized as barbarian and offensive to Hellenic feeling, (as *e.g.* in Euripides, *Andromache*, 174 f.), they are those of near relatives, alluded to above. It would be hard to find proof of any Greek objection to this Corinthian marriage even in the strictest period of Greek morality, if there ever was any strict period.[1] Certainly moral judgment was laxer in Ægean lands in A.D. 56 than in B.C. 450–400.

In short, the Corinthian Church, when it condoned this crime, was simply judging as the Corinthians had always judged. It was not sinking below its Pagan level. It was standing contentedly on that level.

What then does Paul mean? He is, beyond all doubt, referring to the Roman and Imperial law, which (though not the immediate ruling law[2] in the Greek cities) was certainly known in a general way in the Corinthian *Colonia*. He means, not that such a marriage was condemned by all Gentiles, but that it was condemned by the law which was most authoritative and supreme among the Gentiles—the law of the great empire.

Now Roman marriage custom was very much more severe than Greek. The old Roman laws had been extraordinarily strict in its prohibition of marriage between relations, forbidding even second cousins to marry one another. But the rule was relaxed by degrees. By the

[1] When one asks for proof of the statement (made in many books on Greek Antiquities) that such a marriage would have offended Greek feeling, one finds that the proof reduces itself to this passage of Paul—misunderstood, as we contend.

[2] It is pointed out in *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, p. 181, that Rome did not try or desire to destroy existing civilization and law by forcing her own on the Greek cities. Rome made it a rule to "let well alone."

beginning of the second century B.C. marriage between first cousins had become legal, and in 49 A.D. marriage between an uncle and his niece (if she were his brother's daughter) was legalized in order to admit the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina.[1] Again, marriage with a step-parent or stepchild or parent-in-law, etc., was never allowed in Roman custom or law; affinity, in the direct line, always was a bar to marriage. Stepbrother and step-sister could never marry. This Corinthian marriage was, and always remained, illegal in Roman law.

The Corinthians, in practice, stood on the Greek level of moral feeling in regard to marriage; but Paul could count on the knowledge of Roman custom, which was to be expected in a *Colonia*, even an eastern *Colonia*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

LECTURE II.

DURING the seventeen years of his boyhood and youth, Joseph's life was being equipped and fitted. He was, in those childhood's days of shelter and seclusion, like a ship that is being rigged and manned within its harbour. Shape was being given to his life by outward circumstances, and the spirit was being developed in the lad which would make headway or leeway or no way at all whenever the time came for him to be launched on the world. The sea, with its tumult of voice and motion, was awaiting him; but, whilst his father's house was his home, he knew only the safe seclusion within the gates.

So it is with every youth in every home. With some quiet years, shut off from stress and strife, the lives of all

[1] But marriage between an uncle and his sister's daughter was never allowed by Roman law nor between a nephew and aunt.

of us begin. There the waters around us are at rest; they heed not the loud winds when they call and the storms outside the harbour do not vex them. Yet even in calm childhood there grows within us a consciousness of the busy world awaiting us; its great breath now and again is felt on our brow, and sometimes even within the gates a heave will come like an underwave of the moving sea. These signs are like an inarticulate call to the ship to go down and do business in the great waters. And, sooner or later, with its balance or its list, with its sufficiency of character or without, every life must launch out into the deep.

Far in the vale of Hebron, at dead of night, when all the land was still, there had come to Joseph the voice of the world. From beyond the gates of the hills of his home it came to him like the broken noise of battle, and it called to him while others slept. He heard it only through his dreams; but his heart rose at the call and roused like a heart of war. He heard it and responded to it before the time, and his instinct and desire were knocking at the gates long before they were opened. With that strong soul of his heaving in its sense of power, he was unconsciously calling, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates!" But opened to thee now the gates shall be, O Joseph, the son of Israel!

The picture of the old wanderer Jacob, as given here (*vv.* 13, 14), is natural and touching. The sons grow up, and their lives have a wide circuit far from home; but the father's life ages and slows, and summer by summer his rounds are nearer the doors, until he is so feeble and frail that he cannot go afield at all and is always at home. But his thoughts wander afar, and his interests are with his sons and their flocks, and he wearies to know where they are and how things are going with them; and so he sends Joseph to see. The much hangs on the little in this world, the little wheels in life turn the big ones: "he sent him out of the vale of Hebron and he came to Shechem"; that does

not seem much, but that was all, and it was enough. The gates are already open, and the floods are now lifting up their voice. Thus simply Joseph went out of his father's house one day; and, as fathers do, Jacob would stand watching as long as he could see him. There is pathos in it, and it is happening every day. You too may look at the lad going away; it will be a long time before he is back; I hope he has taken enough with him, and that he has his loins girded, and a sure staff in hand, for he has long wandering and perilous fords before him.

The next glimpse we get of Joseph (*vv.* 15, 16) he is off his way a little and wandering in the field. Dreamers are a little apt to wander. Perhaps he was feeling the spell of circumstances, and opening his eyes to the surprise of the world of which he had had a dream-vision before. Perhaps he was dreaming a new dream, a day-dream with strength and substance in it. We are safe to say that he had his breathless, eerie moments; with the feeling of dim things impending as he tacked and veered with swift steps in the unknown fields. He would in after memory say of that day, "The sky seemed not a sky of earth, and with what motion moved the clouds."

The road that a man of genius would take might be a long way about for most of us to take; and if we be sent to seek the brethren, we need not follow Joseph as he drifts in the field. We had better do our business and not dream—had better keep the straight road and not wander in the field. Every genius has his satellites—an ill-trimmed set of rushlights they usually are, and of eccentric orbit. When we imitate a man, let us imitate him in his greatness and not in his wanderings in the field!

A word by the way (*v.* 17) set Joseph right, and sent him on his swift, unsuspecting way. Never did a lamb of their flocks gambol more thoughtlessly into peril than Joseph into the hands of his cruel brethren. Think of the open-

eyed, child-like joy in which, with a rush at the last, he made for his brothers! And think of the chill all through his soul, as if of death, when he saw their stare and felt it like the curse of their eye upon his life! His would be then an earlier and more bitter cry than Prince Arthur's to Hubert:

> My eyes are out,
> Even with the fierce looks of these bloody men.

The reference to the dreams (*v.* 18) shows what it was that rankled deepest in their breast. Jealousy had rusted in their heart, and when it now stirred there it made nasty ecords of itself. They could have borne merely a flippant favourite of their father's dotage; but they feel that Joseph is to be feared because he was both great and good, and because he seemed to both contradict and counterwork them in their meaner life schemes. So the sooner he is clean out of the way the better it will be for them! And so there, under an open sky, and in a lonely world, and under the eye of God alone, as with Abel's nearer the beginning, hatred devoted a brother to death.

We may mark how the passions of the brethren rose to their power! "They hated him"; that was all at first; then "they could not speak peaceably unto him"; and "they hated him yet the more"; but now they are ready for open outrage on his life! The passion has worked to madness, like a venom in the blood, and now they resolve on murder; they name it out to one another—a word which would have startled them if they had heard it but in a whisper not long before. But they now make up their mind to do it: "Let us slay him and cast him into some pit"; and they resolve to cover their retreat with lies: "We will say, some evil beast hath devoured him"; while they whip up their passion to fury with a laugh and a sneer: "And we shall see what will become of his dreams."

Now you must allow me to enter your own hearts with you; it is not nice work we have to do, but we cannot help it. Every envious, unkind thought or feeling in your breast is a young disguised murder. The men of old time said, "Thou shalt not kill"; but Jesus said, "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause is in danger of the same judgment. Therefore we must deal with our passions. Look often round your hearts; be suspicious about any lurking feeling that you find there; put your foot on the viper's egg if you can. "A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy," but we are responsible for every passion in our breasts. They grow to their size, coiled up; they grow to their strength, sleeping; they always startle by the way they can spring. "Even before Joseph was come near, when the brethren saw him afar off," their passions had fastened on him, and his life was doomed. This, then, is the lesson which we must read to *ourselves* out of these verses; we must not be content to let a thought of ill-will to any one occur to our mind and then vanish away forgotten. Not so, by any means! An evil thought, no matter how momentary, must be faced round upon. It is a foe. It must be seized, struggled with, and strangled; it has the fangs of death. Less will not do; it slips out of sight only to live and feed within you; the tender feeling that you had yesterday and that is gone to-day has been broken by it; the good purposes that are not to be found where they once were have been eaten up by it. Your passion is growing stronger, more subtle, more dangerous, more impatient of restraint. You must not allow yourself to hate Joseph, for "he that hateth his brother is a murderer."

Reuben (*v.* 21) had a tenderer heart than the rest, or a more quick conscience; for he interfered and saved Joseph's life. But he had not the courage of his convictions, and dared not brook the scorn of his comrades by

standing up for the innocent. He tried by a roundabout process to save Joseph while he saved himself. He knew the right, but dared not resist the wrong. He had not the makings of a martyr, of a *man* in him. He had not learned to say the monosyllables of conduct—the "yes" and "no" of morality; and in learning them, and in taking short steps on the path of duty, there is more difficulty, perhaps, than in doing heroic deeds. The daring to say "no," the taking of the first few steps because the right is right, are harder than the climbing of the scaffold stair at the end. The longest and most heroic march is made up of single steps from humble duty to humble duty, the heroic being just the next step at some point after humble ones. One courageous word from Reuben might have saved Joseph; but the word was not spoken, and Joseph must suffer (*v.* 23). And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stripped Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours that was on him. And they took him and cast him into a pit . . . and they sat down to eat bread!

The cruelty becomes somewhat exquisite. It wreaks itself on the old man's gift—as heartlessly as if they had hidden a blind man's staff—more heartless than the soldiers who cast lots on the coat beside the cross—the coat woven without seam, the work of some patient believer—a work of love, a gift of kindness. One coarse stroke would have been kinder than the slow torture of the stripping hands and the dry pit. "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

There is in this simple incident almost an epitome of all the tyranny of the world. On the side of the oppressors there is power, and uneasy kings have thought to curb a human spirit and silence the complainings of an oppressed heart by letting men down into their dungeons. The Chillon ballroom and the Doge's banquet-hall were built

alike, hard by the dungeon stairs. The Baptist, when the feast was merry overhead, heard the executioner at his door; and, like Herod with the Baptist, the brethren sat down to eat while Joseph lay in the pit; and they thought the dreamer was silenced, and his dreams dreamed out. They had meanwhile shut the dreamer's mouth; but they had not erased his visions. They could not cancel the past; and there the dreams were. They might close his eyes, but thus they would only draw a curtain on which over against themselves the fulfilment would be written in letters of fire. They were on the wrong track altogether. They had after all but got the lad a few feet down out of sight into a fast-whirling earth; but already the sentinels of God were in charge of their ready dungeon. God's universe is on the side of truth and freedom; and, while the brethren eat their bread, the wheels of Earth and Time are grinding against them.

But what an experience for the boy who but yesterday was his father's child at home! How must he have felt when he struggled in the strong grip of his brothers, and saw their angry eyes and heard the fierce words over him! How must he have read vengeance as they stripped him of his father's coat, and revenged themselves on *it*! How must he have been moved when he found himself in the narrow well, with all the summer shut out and only a spot of blue sky to look up to! Ah! I said that I hoped, when Joseph left his home, he had enough with him. We may look at these circumstances and this fate from Joseph's point of view, as well as from that of the brethren. Is our own life strange to such experiences as these? Are we not often suddenly dropped from sunshine and summer into a narrow place—as if unfriendly hands had seized us —where the only point to which we can look is the far-away soft blue of another world? Then it is that we seem to have been robbed of the Father's love—to have

been stripped of the Father's gift — for likely enough Joseph never realized till then how much he had been loved at home—and we feel bare and cold and outcast—lost and left, and in all the wide world "our occupation gone."

The only thing for Joseph to do then and there was simply to wait. To struggle was of no avail, to resist was hopeless. He might weep, and he must have wondered. He would feel round the dull dumb earth walls of his extemporized prison, but his heart would be always going back to his home, and back on the remembrance of his father; and then always his eye would wander away back to the point of quiet blue sky, and he would look at it till his tears were dry. If encouraged he was, he must there and then have encouraged himself only in God; and if dream he had there, it would be a grander dream—a Bethel dream, that comes when the sun is set and the pillow is hard, and which makes of the steepest, flintiest foreground a path of golden stairs for a descending God. If Joseph had to learn that, with all his sense of power and all his genius for administration, he could not get on without the help of God, surely the gates were not long open, and he was not far gone from home till this truth was taught him sternly, "Without Me ye can do nothing.

Verse 25: "And the brethren lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their spices, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." And they bartered their brother away for a few shillings, "and the Ishmaelites brought Joseph into Egypt."

The second thoughts were better than the first in this case, and Judah's thoughts afterwards were perhaps slightly kinder. At any rate, the first wild impulse of the heartless brothers grew subdued in *caution*. They calculated more exactly the profit. "What *profit* is it if we slay our brother

and conceal his blood? Come and let us sell him; . . . and his brethren were content." And so the Hebrew stripling passed into new hands; and little wist the Ishmaelites what they did when they took him away! But the dreamer's life has passed into new conditions, and for such a dreamer new conditions are only new possibilities.

Surely, since the world began and man upon it, so slender and tender a slip of human life was never subjected to coarser gardening! Is it a governed or a misgoverned world, where such things as these are possible? Or is it a haphazard life that each man lives—a game of chance on a scale gigantic? Or shall we ask,—

> How God can dumbness keep,
> While sin keeps grinning through His house of time,
> Stabbing His saintliest children in their sleep,
> And staining holy walls with clots of crime?

God was thus, and thus early, giving elementary lessons in life and its laws. He was letting this light break lightly on the awakening eyes of His infant church, which in the fulness of the time was to see greater things than this. For was not the best, and the best-loved, life of earth not bartered away one night in Jerusalem to coarser men for as much silver as Judas could get for it? And in the breast of Him whom Judas sold, was there not the knowledge of His Father's love and acquiescence in His will? And was there not also the assurance that out of such hours of agony and wrong are born the higher good of the larger life, when He said, "I go to prepare a place for you"? In such hours—"dumb hours, clothed in black"—when the Infinite Love seems to turn His back upon His own, He is only going before and opening the gates—opening up an outlet for our life upon the farther away and the better—and He Himself is leading forward.

It is life's universal law because it is God's universal way: all life is born in travail, and born again in travail and

sorrow continually; the more light, the darker shadow; the more love, the sharper possibility of pain; gates of life and gates of death opening over against each other, and the great transitions made when the Great Love looks away from us, leads forward and says to us, "Follow."

This Scripture seems to compel me with a willing compulsion to address some word of point and purpose to parents in this matter. And could I do so with a more significant object-lesson in our eyes than of this lad of well-nigh forty centuries ago leaving his father's house and getting his first shock and surprise of the world? That is the way, more or less, that lads have gone from home ever since, are going out every day, and will go out whilst the world lasts. That boy of yours, who is all the world to you, whom day and night your love has been sheltering, and whose going out has been day by day just the beginning of your wearying till he returned, will have to go forth and face the rebuff, and the laugh, and the peril of life for himself. We pad and soften nowadays the rough edge and bare walls of the wide house of life; but every one must feel the cut and the keenness of life for himself. Every youth must buy his own experience, and pay a long price for it; the best often is paid for with blood and tears. Surely for the love you bear your own, you should anticipate while you may the opening of the gates to them, and out of the stores of your own memory and the sanctified record of other lives seek to supply them with such principles as have been proved to be sufficient—and alone sufficient—to steady and sustain lives, however the winds blow or the currents run! Think of the wise and great who, like Joseph, have been more than conquerors against a thousand odds; think of the great God who is in Christ the way—the one way—the way through all the difficulty to a perfect end; and think—think of those who have made shipwreck:

The wind is from the sunny south,
The tide is full and free,
The fleet is near the harbour mouth,
The wives are on the quay;
But there are some red, tawny sails,
That never come from sea.

To young men—the covenant sons of our Christian homes, the covenant sons of our Church's holy baptism—my word even from this transcript in God's Book of Joseph's strange experiences, is one of good cheer. Take yourselves at your best, and believe in yourselves there! Good always pays better than bad, and the best within you (if you will only give it a fair chance) will pay you a thousand times over. We cannot always be about our fathers' doors. We must get the comfortable coat of home love and home care stripped off our back, and we cannot expect the consideration to be shown us that we knew at home. Within a coat of many colours we may develop our tenderer, finer possibilities, but it is rather a coat of mail in which we need to be girt when we have to enter the fray of life. And no matter how rudely you are driven of circumstance and seeming chance, no man anywhere can do us real wrong—no man can wrong the lad who does not wrong himself. Never lose heart! All things are working together for good to those who love God; who are the called (and who yield to His call) according to the highest purpose. Even your foes are furthering your best interests: the traitor completed the Divine purpose in Christ; the traitor brothers the Divine purpose in Joseph. Things are not—they are *better*—than they seem. This let us learn to-night, as we see even such harsh circumstance in the life of this sweet young life, and read what is written of it as God's own word about Joseph and about ourselves.

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

THE PRAYER WITH REFERENCE TO SELF-MADE TEMPTATIONS.

(Matt. vi. 13; Luke xi. 4.)

The difficulty in this petition is evident to all thoughtful readers of the New Testament. Godet expresses it as clearly as any one in his commentary on St. Luke's Gospel. He refers to the two meanings of the word *tempt*, "to put a free being in the position of deciding for himself between good and evil," and "to impel inwardly to evil." He says: "What renders it difficult to understand this last petition is, that neither of the two senses of the word *tempt* appears suitable here. If we adopt the good sense, how are we to ask God to spare us experiences which may be necessary for the development of our moral being, and for the manifestation of His glorious power in us (Jas. i. 3)? If we accept the bad sense, is it not to calumniate God, to ask Him not to do towards us an act decidedly wicked, diabolical in itself?" This difficulty becomes still more apparent when we turn to the reference given by Godet in the passage quoted above, and read in the Epistle of St. James, *πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις*, and again in the 13th verse, *μηδεὶς πειραζόμενος λεγέτω, ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πειράζομαι.*

My own attention was first seriously directed to this difficulty by discovering that a gentleman who had been for many years actively engaged in mission work had found himself face to face with the dilemma mentioned above. He, like another Alexander, had loosed the knot of the problem in a fashion that would scarcely commend itself to more fastidious souls. His converts were taught to pray, "Leave us not in temptation, but deliver us from evil." On what particular exegesis he based this new rendering of the petition, I do not know. But this incident led me to examine carefully all the ordinary interpretations of the

passage in my effort to discover an enlightening exposition of the prayer as it is translated in the Revised Version, "Bring us not into temptation." I can scarcely say the examination was satisfactory. Not one of the attempted explanations appeared to touch the heart of the difficulty. One or two instances will be sufficient to serve as examples of the general style of exposition followed by commentators on this passage. Morison traces the prayer to a natural shrinking from the stress and pain of trial, a shrinking which every soul must feel. Taking this view we shall be obliged to confess that Jesus put into the mouths of His disciples a prayer which must be classed amongst those mistaken pleadings which arise from man's weakness and ignorance, and which God in His higher wisdom does not grant. J. B. Mayer, in his commentary on the Epistle of St. James, refers to this petition in his notes at the close of the volume and interprets it thus: "One who is conscious of his own weakness may, without inconsistency, pray that he may be kept out of temptation, and yet, when he is brought into it through no fault of his own, but by God's providential ordering, he may feel such trust in Divine support as to rejoice in an opportunity of proving his faithfulness." This may serve to remove the seeming inconsistency between the petition in the Lord's Prayer and the passage in St. James. But to say, as an exposition of the former, that it arises from a consciousness of human weakness does not go far enough. All true prayer is petition, and has a clear and definite object. What does Jesus Christ teach His disciples to ask for in this petition? Is it for exemption from temptation in the second sense of the term as given by Godet? Or is it for exemption from that temptation which is God's trial of the soul? Whether the prayer arises from a consciousness of human weakness or not we are still left face to face with the difficulty mentioned above. Christ teaches His disciples either a petition

that calumniates God or else one that it is better for God not to grant. Godet himself, in his commentary, treats the difficulty contained in this paragraph in a way that will scarcely seem satisfactory to any one. The word εἰσφέρειν is taken to mean "to deliver over to,"—on what grounds is not stated. The prayer is then paraphrased thus: "Let [me do nothing this day which would force Thee for a single moment to withdraw Thy hand, and to give me over to one of the snares which the Evil One will plant in my way. Keep me in the sphere where Thy holy will reigns, and where the Evil One has no access." When we read this paraphrase and compare it with the petition itself, we feel that some further exegesis to connect the sermon with its text would not be out of place.

In carefully considering the passage ourselves, we have come to the conclusion that the word to which attention must first be directed is not πειρασμός but εἰσφέρω. If the petition read "Tempt us not" or "Try us not," the difficulties urged at the commencement of this paper would be insuperable. It seems to us that most commentators, in trying to explain this passage, have treated it as if there were little difference between "Tempt us not" and "Bring us not into temptation," or between "Try us not" and "Bring us not into temptation." The objections urged by Godet are objections to prayers of the form "Tempt us not," "Try us not." Of course if there is no difference between such petitions and the one we are considering, then his objections hold good with respect to the petition in our Lord's Prayer. But we maintain that there is a difference. We cannot think that the use of εἰσφέρειν is a mere circumlocution. Surely the form and style of the petition is modelled on some great underlying religious belief in the mind of the Master. And an examination of the word εἰσφέρειν shows us we are correct in this view of the matter. We find that it is not often used in the New Testament.

In fact, excluding the passage under consideration, there are only four texts in which the verb is found. In only one of the four has it a personal object. When we compare these passages, we see how erroneous is the rendering in the Authorised Version, "Lead us not into temptation." The term "lead" introduces a foreign idea at once and destroys the essential force of the original Greek word. Translate the only other passage in the New Testament in which εἰσφέρειν is used with a personal object in the same way as the Authorised Version translates this passage, and we see how the meaning is hopelessly debased. In Luke v. 18 we read, ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν. Translate this "they sought to lead him in," instead of "they sought to bring him in," and what an erroneous idea of the Evangelist's meaning we get! It seems as if εἰσφέρειν" had been translated "to lead into," because it was felt that in the ordinary meaning of the word it could not apply to personal objects except in a strictly physical sense.

But surely the essential force of the original word depends on this fact, that we have a term generally used only in reference to inanimate things applied in this passage to personal objects. "Bring us not,"—the expression is a very strong one. The idea is that of a mighty force bearing us bodily onwards. In the Iliad we find εἰσφέρειν used in the Middle Voice in the sense of "to sweep along," as a man may be borne along, a helpless unit in a moving crowd of thousands, or caught up and carried onward, a mere straw, as it were, on a great wave of enthusiasm. So that we may say, laying proper stress upon the true meaning of εἰσφέρειν, that underlying this prayer we have the conception of God as a God of mighty providence. It is not the thought of God *leading* men on. The term "lead" is nothing like strong enough. It is the conception of God as the God of history, individual and national history. The God who mingles in every experience of each human life;

the God who is the directing force of each human life; the God against whose penalties it is useless for us to struggle rebelliously, when we have once chosen the wrong path, unless we repent, we are borne onward unto destruction; the God of whose blessing no one can deprive us if we have once chosen the right path, unless we fall away, we are borne on unto heavenly prosperity. The great God who thus orders the events of men's lives according to men's choice of good or of evil is He to whom the prayer is made, "Bring us not into temptation." In the first place, then, we observe that the petition is addressed to God as the God of Providence.

Next, to briefly state our exposition of the passage. God does not tempt us; for that we have the authority of Holy Scripture. And if God tries us, then it is for our good and it is not for us to pray that He will exempt us from such trials. But is there not a third class of temptation-experiences coming as it were between supposed temptations by God and real trials by Him, a third class of experiences which are neither temptations by the holy God nor trials whereby He strengthens us? I refer to circumstances naturally innocent and harmless which we have made into temptations for ourselves. What is the relation of God to these? When in the natural ordering of our lives we find ourselves in such circumstances, in themselves and perhaps to other people innocent enough, may it not be said of God that He has brought us into temptation without that saying casting a slur on the holiness of His dealings with men? And surely that would not be equivalent to saying, "God tempted me"?

Now to enlarge further on this interpretation. If we properly consider the condition into which our sins have brought us, we shall see the necessity for this petition. We shall see too, how, like the whole of the Lord's prayer, it gives us a higher conception of the very God of Providence

to whom we pray. Theology is always enriched by prayer. The man who knows how to pray always rises from his knees a better theologian. For the sincere soul this Prayer of prayers contains a Divine vision indeed. Consider the condition into which our sins have brought us. They have entirely altered the moral aspect of our lives. Circumstances which before possessed no moral significance for us have now become fraught with good or evil. The passing of a particular house, the meeting of a certain person, the sight of a piece of coloured pasteboard, these things may mean nothing to me, but to another man they mean perhaps a violent struggle, a battle at the very gates of hell, a falling away into old sins, the ruin of the soul. Our sins have filled life full of temptations for us—temptations which we have made for ourselves out of the morally harmless circumstances of life. There is a spot in the great city which a thousand men may pass, and it would mean no trial of the soul to them; but there is one poor wretch whose sin has made that place a place of overwhelming temptation to him. If the circumstances of his life, circumstances over which perhaps he has no control, bring him there, the old vice will have the mastery of his soul again. Is there a Providence watching over him, so ordering the steps of his goings among the million footfalls of that city, that he come not near that place? We believe there is. We have been taught to believe that there is a Providence watching over men as *God's children*, and supplying them with life's necessities as may be good for them. We have been taught to pray "Give us this day our daily bread." And this other petition teaches us that there is a special Providence watching over men as *sinners*. Not that we believe that Providence adopts a "hot house" dispensation in either case. Men have to labour for their daily bread, though the petition in the Lord's Prayer may say nothing about such labouring; and men have to struggle

for their souls' salvation, though the petition we have been considering says nothing about the trials by which a man is perfected. But this will not prevent us from recognising the fact that in either case, if Providence left us alone, the result would be disastrous. By reason of a man's sin the merest chance, as it may seem, exposes him to temptation. Somebody asks him out for the evening, somebody lends him a book, somebody sends him on an errand. To nine hundred and ninety-nine other men it would mean nothing! To him, the one man in the thousand, it means much, perhaps everything. And so a man's life becomes disastrously fraught with the possibilities of temptations. A few he might resist, but the continuous onslaught of one after another would prove too much for him. If the man is to be saved, there must be a special ordering of Providence even in the apparently little things of his life. There must be a special Providence watching over him and keeping him again and again from the circumstances which might be harmless enough to most, but which to him would mean a much wounded soul, yea, a soul wounded to death. This is true of us all in so far as we have sinned and made temptations for ourselves out of the ordinary circumstances of life.

Of course it may be said that we have no right to expect all this. "If a man sins," it is said "he must not expect a special interference of Providence to save him from those temptations that result from his own wrongdoing." Our answer is twofold. First, that it is not a question of right at all. The very position of the petition in the Lord's Prayer shows this. Preceding it is the prayer for forgiveness, following it the prayer for deliverance from the Evil One. If man can talk about rights only, then *these* two prayers must remain for ever unuttered. So also this petition is a prayer offered unto that Divine Being who is the God of Grace as well as the God of Providence. And our second answer is, that it is the repeated testimony of many men

and women that this prayer is not offered in vain. Many a man has felt that God has interfered in the circumstances of his life so that he might not be brought into overwhelming temptation. It may be that a companion, by whose side he was wont to work and whose influence over him was for the worst, is removed to another shop. It may be that the business journey which he has had to make through certain towns is changed; henceforth his way is through a different part of the country, and thus many of his temptations are lopped off at a blow. It may be that the route of a man's van is altered and he has no longer to call at those houses where the temptation to former evil ways is strongest. Many such instances every one will recall out of his own experiences.

Thus we can easily conceive of God bringing us into temptation without doing towards us an act decidedly wicked, diabolical in itself. The ordinary ordering of Providence will bring us into temptation simply because we have made that temptation for ourselves by our own sin. And in this prayer we ask God to remember in His Providence not only the spiritual weakness which is the result of our sins, but also the way in which those sins have made the environment of life full of temptations for us. Does not every one feel the propriety and the need of such a prayer? And is not the position that the petition occupies in the Lord's Prayer a very fitting one? After asking for the forgiveness of the past we turn to the future avoiding of sin. At first, we are reminded that there are temptations that we have made for ourselves, that unless God be gracious, the future lies before us a dreary waste of hopeless sin, temptation after temptation to which our souls will succumb, that we need a special ordering of the events of life. So we pray, "Bring us not into temptation." Then there is the prayer for deliverance from that other form of temptation which comes to us from without, which can come to the

holiest man, the temptation which is as the whispering of the evil one in our ear, and as the terrible grip of his hand upon our throat. And thus in proper succession the petitions follow on one another. In fact, the teaching that underlies them, if fully expounded, would be found to correspond exactly with Butler's scientific analysis of temptation in his *Analogy of Religion*, and the Lord's Prayer is seen to be as true to the facts of the natural life of the human soul as is Butler's philosophical treatise itself.

A. T. Burbridge.

MINISTERING IN SACRIFICE.

As a description of the function of the Christian Ministry the phrase "ministering in sacrifice" is not familiar to the reader of the English Bible. But if he examines the margin of the Revised Version at Romans xv. 16, he will find it suggested there as giving more correctly the force of the word which in A.V. is rendered simply "ministering"—the gospel of God. And that being so, the verse, with its context, certainly invites a closer examination than it commonly receives from those who repudiate the sacrificial aspect of the Christian ministry, which is usually presented as the "Catholic" view. In his book entitled *The Conception of Priesthood*, Prof. Sanday has drawn special attention to this passage, making it the text of his lecture on "Sacerdotalism," and finding in it evidence of a conception of his ministry in the mind of the Apostle which provides Scriptural support for a certain theory of sacrificing priesthood. The theory in whose defence this passage is appealed to, is that most recently defended and expounded by Dr. Moberly in his *Ministerial Priesthood*. And in raising the question whether the language of this verse will really bear the construction

put upon it and provide Scriptural support for this theory, I should like to acknowledge the admiration with which even those who profoundly differ from its conclusions must regard Dr. Moberly's book. It contains many high and moving passages. And its analysis of the relation of love and sacrifice, with the new emphasis it lays on the essential connection of the pastoral and the priestly aspects of the holy ministry, are only the most striking of many passages which are gratefully treasured by us all.

The purpose of Dr. Sanday's lectures and of the examination of this passage which they contain is frankly eirenical. He believes that between Hort, with Bishop Lightfoot and Hatch behind him, and Dr. Moberly and those he represents, there is more common ground than at first appears; that in a debate which turns largely upon the meaning of words the debaters have not used words in the same sense, but, while differing in appearance, have agreed in reality. Recognising that "the burning question in relation to the Christian ministry is precisely this, Is the Christian minister a sacrificing priest or is he not?" and that "the crucial point in the function of the priesthood is its relation to sacrifice," he finds in this passage, not indeed the *name*, but the *thing*; and, after summarizing Dr. Moberly's view, asks whether this conception of the Christian ministry has, or has not, a Scriptural sanction; and replying that it has, adds, "I doubt if there is any passage so strong as the verse I have chosen for my text."

Such, then, is the importance attached to this passage. It stands at the commencement of the epilogue to the Epistle to the Romans. The Apostle, having brought his argument to a triumphant conclusion, has added a series of earnest warnings and exhortations in which he gives practical application to his doctrine. Being about to close his letter, he seems to be touched with a sense of compunction. It is no conventional apology for his authoritative

speaking which follows. It is not so much a fear that his tone may be resented as a true humility of spirit which prompts him to justify the tone of his closing utterances. There has been an accent of authority of which he himself at least is conscious. He has indeed written "somewhat more boldly" than his wont. And the grounds on which he proceeds to justify himself are certainly very remarkable. They are not those so frequently and so firmly adduced in other passages. He bases his authority, not on his apostleship, his standing in the eyes of men as one sent and commissioned by the Head of the Church, but on his standing before God as a *minister* (λειτουργόν) of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, *ministering in sacrifice* (ἱερουργοῦντα) the gospel of God that the *offering* (προσφορά) of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being "sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (R.V. marg.).

That we have here sacerdotal imagery is beyond dispute. The question is, how far the imagery is the colouring or the substance of the Apostle's thought. Of the three phrases emphasized, the first (λειτουργός) in itself and by itself might be called neutral. Etymologically it denotes no more than one who renders official service. The sphere of the service, whether in things secular or sacred, civil or ecclesiastical, falls to be indicated by the context. And the possibility of its use in a secular or non-ecclesiastical sense is sufficiently attested for the LXX. by passages like Joshua 1. 1, 2 Samuel 13. 18, 2 Kings 4. 43, and for the New Testament by Philippians 2. 25. On the other hand, the specifically ecclesiastical sense is the more common in LXX., though even there it is used of Levites rather than of "priests," and indeed sometimes in direct distinction from "priests." But it is open to doubt whether in any case in the New Testament the word or its derivatives would necessarily be taken in this sense apart from the context.

The precise force of λειτουργός, therefore, must be ascertained from a consideration of the subsequent phrases. And in them the sacerdotal colouring is plain. As regards ἱερουργεῖν, it is hardly necessary to investigate its use as a neuter verb. It plainly means "to work in sacred matters," "to perform sacred rites"; and, as these rites were for both Pagans and Jews consummated in sacrifice, "to offer sacrifice." Its force as an active verb is not so obvious, and its interpretation often depends on whether emphasis is laid on the first or on the second of its roots. Thus Erasmus at first rendered it in this passage, "administrans," but afterwards "sacrificans." The passage in Basil of Cæsarea (quoted by Fritzsche) establishes the sense of "sacrifice" for post-Biblical Greek, for in his Commentary on Psalm cxvi. (cxv.) ἱερουργήσω σοι τῆς αἰνέσεως θυσίαν finds a parallel in θύειν τῷ Θεῷ αἴνεσιν. And though the well-known quotation from 4 Maccabees (vii. 8) is itself difficult to render, it furnishes a close parallel to St. Paul's language, τοιούτους δὴ δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς ἱερουργοῦντας τὸν νόμον ἰδίῳ αἵματι. "Sacrificans legem" stands as much in need of explanation as "sacrificans evangelium"; but at the least the word conveys this—"sacerdotis modo aliquid tractare" (Fritzsche). Hofmann denies either priestly or sacrificial connotation in the word, and insists on rendering, "administering holy service"; but he stands almost alone among commentators of mark. Meyer ("in priestly fashion administering the gospel of God,") and Godet ("accomplissant le sacerdoce de l'évangile"), both admit the sacerdotal quality of the word.

As to the third of these phrases there can be no doubt whatever. There may be uncertainty as to the reality which answers to the figure, and as to the point at which the figure passes over into reality, but the language of the last member of the verse (ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορά κ.τ.λ.) is

plainly derived from the familiar ritual of sacrifice. And of course the clear meaning of these words will govern the contruction we put on the preceding phrases, confirm the sacerdotal interpretation of *ἱερουργοῦντα*, and decide the meaning to be ascribed to *λειτουργός*. As Calvin puts it in his Commentary: "Nihil certius quam Paulum hic ad sacra mysteria alludere, quae a sacerdote peraguntur."

It follows then from a candid exegesis of this passage that the Apostle of the Gentiles did realize his ministry in terms of priesthood, that he was conscious of performing a sacrificial function, and that this aspect of his ministry was so far from being secondary or accidental in his estimation, that, on this occasion at least, he based upon it his right and claim to speak authoritatively to the Church of Christ.

This looks like acquiescing in the theory of the ministry presented by Dr. Moberly and defended by Prof. Sanday. But in reality we are still far short of that; for we have not yet touched the true *differentia* between the Roman theory and the Reformed. It is only partially true to say that the crucial question is: Is the Christian minister a sacrificing priest or is he not? The true *differentia* comes into view when the question is raised: What does the Christian minister offer in his priestly capacity? The Romans assert, the Reformed deny, that it is the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. It is this connection between the New Testament idea of sacrifice as offered by or within the Church of Christ and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for proof of which one looks in vain whether in exegetical studies or in dogmatic expositions. And yet it is in this assumed connection that the Catholic conception of priesthood finds its supreme function, and out of this connection that it has deduced its most serious errors.

On this, which is really the crucial question, Dr. Moberly offers no detailed discussion. I hope it is not uncharitable to say that just here in his argument, hitherto so careful

and elaborate, and, admitting his premises and method, so largely convincing, the mediæval conception of priesthood as finding its expression in the Sacrifice of the Mass (or Eucharist) slips in without either Scriptural justification or logical necessity.

On page 258 we find the priesthood of the ministry displaying itself *κατ' ἐξοχήν* in the ritual of the sacraments. The priesthood of the ministry follows as a corollary from the priesthood of the Church. But when we seek for the connection between the priesthood of the Church and the sacraments, particularly that "of the altar," we find it making a sudden appearance on page 255. It is grounded, so far as it is grounded at all, on the priestly character of the Church as found in her "identification with the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ." But the doubt forces itself upon us whether "identification" is a wise word to use in an attempt at a definition. Dr. Moberly is fond of it. It may almost be said to be his key to the problem. It takes the place occupied in older theology by "acceptance" or "appropriation." He speaks of the Church as "reflecting, nay, in a real sense as being, [Christ] Himself." There is a curious relation here suggested with those at the other extreme of thought from Dr. Moberly, who are trying to find the key to moral problems of practical life in the "identification" of Christ and the Christian. Both schools provoke the same question: Is this thought true? is it a safe guide for our thinking? While so much in His personality, in His life and in His sacrifice, was admittedly unique, the idea of "identification" between our blessed Lord and any human disciple, or any body of disciples, is surely a dangerous logical weapon. For we may happen to postulate "identity" in the very things in which He is unique. And is not one of these things the work He wrought for us, *erga Deum*, deriving its validity, according to our faith, from that oneness with the Father which was

His in a way in which it cannot be ours? In fact this "identification," whether it be of Christ and the individual believer, or of Christ and the Church, as in certain defences of "Catholic" doctrine, touches very closely on the kernel of our faith. It seems at least to impinge on the Divine glory of Christ.

In Dr. Moberly's view the priesthood which finds its consummating expression in the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, is but a particular case and representative manifestation of the general priesthood of the Church. The Church identifies herself in her Eucharistic worship with our Lord's "sacrificial self-oblation to the Father." And yet it is precisely this connection between the priestly attributes of the Church, not to speak of individual ministers, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which seems to be wholly lacking in Scriptural authority, for which even this passage in Romans xv. cannot be claimed as support.

The Scriptural evidence is remarkable. For there is one class of passages in the Epistles where the language of sacrifice is freely used in reference to the Christian Church; and, on the other hand, there is one passage where the Eucharist is distinctly referred to, its ceremonial described, and its significance exalted. But neither when the Apostle is dealing with the sacrament is there any allusion to priesthood or sacrifice, nor when he is enforcing the duty of sacrifice does he connect it in the most distant way with the sacrament. Such holding apart of two ideas which were fundamental, the one to the life, and the other to the ceremonial, of the Church is surely incredible if the apostolic Church saw any connection between the two. And yet this connection is essential to that theory of ministerial priesthood which is known as "Catholic," and which Dr. Moberly expounds.

For that theory, Dr. Sanday claims the support of this passage. And we have seen to what point that claim can

be substantiated. The Apostle does describe his ministry in terms of priesthood and sacrifice. But is the sacrifice the sacrifice "of the altar"? and does he represent his priesthood as finding its culmination, or even in any degree its expression, in this sacrament?

I believe that a further consideration of his words must lead to our answering both questions in the negative, and our conviction will only be confirmed by an examination of his other references to sacrifice.

We shall be led to this conclusion if we give due weight to the strangeness of the expressions which the Apostle uses. They must have fallen very strangely on the ears of those to whom they were addressed. Probably they were intended to be startling, and in their pregnant brevity there was the clear assertion of a new situation. Paul begins each clause by striking a familiar note. But each of the three phrases as a whole forms a crashing discord. The opening words in each case are sacerdotal in their associations. "A minister in priestly service of Christ Jesus," "ministering in sacrifice," "in order that the sacrificial offering" . . . But each clause closes with a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, a phrase in startling contradiction to the anticipations of his readers. This will readily be granted in regard to the first of the three; for it is a commonplace of Paul's self-description. "A temple functionary," but not officiating for, or to, Israel, nay, a new thing, a temple functionary officiating for the Gentiles.

The same pregnant antithesis is surely to be found also in the following clauses. It is suggested by the very difficulty which has all along been felt in rendering or interpreting the former of the two, *ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*. The translators give either a literal but unintelligible rendering, like Erasmus' "sacrificans evangelium," and Luther's "opfern das Evangelium," or one which obliterates the force of the verb, as Weizsäcker with "im heiligen Dienst der Evan-

gelium Gottes." In fact, the more we press, as Dr. Sanday has justly done, the etymological force of ἱερουργοῦντα, the more plainly does its incongruity with τὸ εὐαγγέλιον appear. That incongruity must have been intentional and significant. The natural, the anticipated, way of closing the phrase would have been with some such word as λειτουργίαν or θυσίαν: and by substituting τὸ εὐαγγέλιον the Apostle would startle his readers into perception of the fact that as the sphere of the priestly ministry had widened, so the form and material of its operation had changed entirely. Paul was conscious of conserving in himself the priestly character, but he found its functions fulfilled, not in offering sacrifice, not even in "pleading" a sacrifice offered once for all, but in proclaiming the gospel, and in the Divinely mediated results which followed the proclamation. This was plainly seen by the older commentators. Theodoret remarks: "The preaching of the gospel he calls a sacrificial work, and genuine faith an acceptable offering." And Chrysostom paraphrases: "This is my priesthood, to preach and proclaim."

What the results of this preaching were, and how they corresponded in thought with the liturgical procedure of the older dispensation, so justifying the imagery of these phrases, we see from the third clause of this passage. Here again we find an illuminating παρὰ προσδοκίαν. "In order that the sacrificial offering of the *Gentiles* might be acceptable." In their pre-Christian days a similar phrase had been familiar to the readers of the Epistle. Jews and Gentiles alike had known the desire that their sacrifices might be acceptable to Heaven. But where the diction with which they had been familiar put τῶν ἀμνῶν, τῶν βοῶν, the Apostle boldly substitutes τῶν ἐθνῶν. And thereby once more he conveys with pregnant brevity the suggestion that lambs and bullocks were no longer the material of sacrifice. But their place had not been taken by another

representative sacrifice, however highly symbolic and refined. In their place he puts, as the material of sacrifice, men, a people, a community, that race to which he had a special commission as preacher of the gospel—the Gentiles.

That this is the sacrifice on which the Apostle's thought and desire are fixed, is commonly admitted—the offering which the Gentiles *are*, not the offering which the Gentiles bring. For this is the sense confirmed by the other passages where Paul exhorts his readers to present as "a living sacrifice" their bodies, to "present" their members as instruments of righteousness unto God. This is the "sacrifice of their faith," along with which he rejoices to be himself offered (Phil. ii. 17). This "spiritual service" (*λογικὴ λατρεια*) has now taken the place of the ritual representations which were shadows of the sacrifice to come. For this representative, or typical, character of the Mosaic sacrifices is not exhausted in their foreshadowing the great sacrifice of Christ. Christ was not offered *by men* to God. They represented also, under material forms, the offering by man of himself, which now, by the sanctifying of the Spirit and the sacrifice of Christ, had become possible in reality and in completeness. In all such passages there is the same tacit, but all the more emphatic, contrast between the form that has been done away and the substance, the moral reality of surrender that has taken its place. But of the idea that the earlier and grosser form has been replaced by a more symbolic but still material form there is not a trace. Had Paul recognised such a form in the breaking of bread and the pouring of the wine, he could not have refrained from saying so where he treats so profoundly of the Holy Supper and its significance.

On the other hand, those who regard the Apostle's language in Romans xv. 15, 16 as wholly metaphorical, as, for example, Dr. Jowett, in his Commentary, seem to do less than justice to his earnestness and sincerity of thought. Neither do

they do full justice to the consciousness of the Christian minister. Paul's language here is pictorial in the sense that it is coloured by the reminiscence of prophetic phraseology and of temple ritual, but the substance of it corresponds to an absolute reality, to an actual element in the consciousness of the Christian minister and in the process of Christian worship. He has been standing before men as the ambassador of God, ministering the Gospel of Christ in proclaiming the sacrifice of Calvary and the love-meaning in its heart, preaching Christ and Him crucified. The power of the Holy Spirit, shed abroad in their hearts in response to their asking, has wrought by the agency of His word to unite these men in one spiritual body, to cleanse and anoint them unto a holy priesthood. Using still the same human agency, the Spirit has quickened in the people the consciousness that they are not their own, the impulse to self-surrender, the willingness to live henceforth not unto themselves, but unto God. The offering is ready, the offering which *is* the people now "sanctified by the Holy Ghost." The Apostle-minister now turns as *their* representative before God. He presents in sacrifice no symbol, but a reality, the sanctified body, which has been cleansed by the Word and constituted by the Holy Ghost, as an offering acceptable to God.

Such appears to be the conception of the Christian ministry, in its priestly aspect, which underlies this passage. It has no more to do with the Eucharist than with any other means of grace. It may be prejudice that makes it seem to me simpler, profounder, and more ethical, as well as more truly spiritual, than that which is offered by the "Catholic" Church. But I cannot resist the conclusion that it is the conception held and presented by St. Paul.

C. Anderson Scott.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

II. The Wisdom of Ben-Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Since we shall be occupied in this chapter with the Wisdom literature as it is called, let us endeavour first to obtain a clear idea of what the Old Testament means by "Wisdom." The author who tells us most clearly what is denoted by it is Ben-Sira.[1] Wisdom, he tells us, is higher than heaven, broader than earth, more unfathomable than the abyss; it has been steadily built up from the beginning;[2] God only knows it, has measured it, and spread it over His works.[3] At the commencement of the world it took up its residence with Adam and abides with his posterity.[4] Fear of the Lord is the commencement of it; yet all mankind have some share of it, only those who fear God have the largest share. Similarly he states that the whole process of creation was done in the presence of Wisdom; and that, being given the choice of all the world, Wisdom, while reserving to herself a *pied-a-terre* in every race, chose Jerusalem,

[1] Ben-Sira's verses can ordinarily be restored by simple retranslation from the Greek, remembering that the verse must have the rhythm ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑.

[2] Ecclus. i. 3, 4:—

גֹּבַהּ שָׁמַיִם רֹחַב אֶרֶץ
וּתְהוֹמוֹת כָּמָה מִי יְעַקֵּב
מִכָּל־אֵלֶּה רָבְתָה חָכְמָה
וַתִּבָּנֶה בְּנֹה מִקֶּדֶם

[3] Ecclus. i. 6, 7:—

אֶחָד הוּא חָכָם נוֹרָא לָחַד
יוֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסְאוֹ יְהוָה הוּא
בְּרָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ וּסְפָרָהּ
וַיִּשְׁדֶּנָּה עַל כָּל־מַעֲשָׂיו (sic).

[4] Ecclus. i. 13:—

עִם אָדָם מִיסוֹד עוֹלָם הֻתְקוֹ־
נְנָה וְעִם זַרְעוֹ תִּתְאַמֵּן

David's city, for her headquarters.[1] And finally he identifies Wisdom with the Bible as it was then known to him. "All this is the Book of the Covenant of the Most High God, with the Law that Moses commanded us, the heritage of the Synagogue of Jacob." [2]

Ben-Sira is not an original writer, but a poetical paraphraser of the ideas of the Old Testament; and the ideas of these paragraphs are also to be found separately or together in the Proverbs, Job, and the Wisdom of Solomon. His identification of Wisdom with the Bible seems however to be his own. And the noble truth that Israel only had a larger share of the treasure in which all races participated to some degree is assuredly nowhere stated so distinctly as in the verses that have been quoted.

What then is this Wisdom? What is there known to us which will suit these descriptions? The answer is of course *science*. It is the privilege of man that he has insight into the works of God; here and there he can grasp their meaning, and the processes by which they are accomplished; not unfrequently he can imitate them. Between instinct and reasoned action there is a gulf that can never be spanned. In the one case the actor and the designer are one; in the other they are wholly different beings. Man is in the image of God, because God as revealed in nature uses the same instrument as man can use; the syllogism with its major premiss of a universal law. So far as the world is carried on by the working of laws, the difference between the work done by nature and that which is performed by man is quantitative rather than qualitative; the building of a human frame and the building of a steam-engine are processes which differ in complication rather than in any other

[1] Ecclus. xxiv. 11:— בְּעִיר דָּוִד בֵּן הִנִיחַנִי
וּבִירוּשָׁלַיִם שָׁרִיתִי

[2] Ecclus. xxiv. 22.

respect. Hence what Ben-Sira says of Wisdom in the passages quoted is literally true and exact, if we interpret Wisdom as *science*. It was present at the Creation; for the whole universe is the solution of a scientific problem. It took up its abode with Adam at the commencement of human society, because man is the only rational agent who mixes with that society. He only acts because he is acquainted with the laws that make effect follow cause; and the longer the chain of reasoning whereon his conduct is based, the more far-reaching the effects which it contemplates, the more Godlike is his conduct. But on the other hand science has been constantly *built up* from the beginning; not science as known to God, but as known to man. It is an accumulation of observations and deductions from the time when man first became a reasoning being. With constant accumulation facility of conservation and assimilation has also increased. What to one generation has seemed a mighty fabric of science to a later one seems a humble erection: it has *gone on building from the beginning*; no one can prophesy how high the fabric is destined to rise. We are like those insects who contribute (if we are fortunate enough) our grain to the hill, but the ultimate height and shape of the cliff is beyond our ken.

But further, the fear of the Lord is the commencement of the whole.[1] Without morality the continuance of the race would be possible, but its progress would not be possible. Fear, or self-restraint, for however short a period is the necessary condition of all science. The savage who, instead of devouring his captive, makes a slave of him, has started science and civilization; for in view of a future gratification he has restrained a present appetite. And when the pursuit of science itself becomes the absorbing interest, apart from all other gratifications, all of which are sunk in that of the contemplation of the works of God, and

[1] Ecclus. i. 12.

intercourse through them with Him, then the fear of the Lord may be said to be a satiation with Wisdom.[1] For the whole being has then become filled with it.

This is not forced into the Hebrew writers, but is the only explanation of their words which will suit every portion of the description. Viewed as God's, science is before the worlds; viewed as man's, it is coeval with him, and has been steadily growing with the growth of human society. Viewed as an instrument for ameliorating man, it is the most effective that Christianity can employ; for by inventing anything you divert possibly an unlimited number of human beings from preying on the others and turn them into co-operators for the general welfare. The more each one of us becomes dependent on all, the more are the interests of all made identical.

Ben-Sira, as we have seen, identifies "Wisdom" with the Bible; thinking, evidently, that the Bible was the complete store of science. And in thinking Scripture science he was right; for clearly morality is no less science than chemistry; and science cannot dispense with history, which furnishes matter for her syllogisms. But in regarding Scripture as the sum total of the knowable he was mistaken, and indeed it may be doubted whether he could have coolly maintained such a view.

The Hymn to Wisdom which forms chapter xxiv. of his Proverbs was composed about 200 B.C. Speaking of Scripture as a whole, then, he says that it is identical with that Wisdom of which so glowing an account is given in chapter i., that the first man did not fully know it, and that the last shall not sound it to the bottom, for it is deep as the ocean, and perennial as the Euphrates. Surely no man could use such language of a book that did not occupy a unique position, such as can only be acquired by long

[1] Ecclus. i. 14.

familiarity and reverence. And by Wisdom he means not the Law in the narrower sense, but the Old Testament in the wider sense. For he states that his own work consists of gleanings from it; his book is a rill taken from the great river. Therefore if we can trace the source of his imitations, we know what his Bible was, and what he identified with the Wisdom that helped at the creation of the world. It is not necessary to prove here that Ben-Sira draws matter from all three collections of Biblical books; that may be taken as generally known. But the question that is clearly apposite is—If a collection of books had in 200 B.C. acquired such tremendous authority that a writer of unusual common sense could identify it with the Divine Wisdom—in other words speak of it as Mohammedan writers speak of their Koran—how could any fresh matter be smuggled in to that collection later than 200 B.C.? We might conceive an occasional word or an occasional verse being interpolated, though even this would be difficult: for in Oriental countries a man is not supposed to know anything that he does not know by heart. The Semitic writing is somewhat of a *memoria technica* rather than an accurate representation of sounds. There would be no difficulty in finding Israelites now who could repeat the whole Old Testament verbatim. Such persons would testify to the spuriousness of a new chapter at once; they could also testify to the spuriousness of a new verse or even a new word. If we consider the conservatism which characterizes such persons, it may be doubted whether the introduction of a work of any considerable dimensions into their canon could be executed: if such an operation were performed, the probability is that posterity would hear something of it.

The facts of the Greek translation of Ben-Sira's book being dated and the work of a known man, render it suitable for building inferences. Therefore attention should be called here to some points about the book which show

us that since the completion of the canon Hebrew literature and Hebrew society have greatly altered.

The poetry of the Bible is unmetrical. Attempts to reduce it to metre are utter failures. If there were any metrical laws, they would not shun the light, but be plain and obvious as is the metre of the Vedas or the rhyme of the Koran. But it has no such artifices because it does not require them. "The word of the Lord is tried." It will win approval on its merits only. It thrills more than any other poetry, albeit it is not rendered attractive by such gay costume as other poetry puts on. Such performances as the second or the forty-fifth Psalm are like mountain torrents; the thought of hemming *them* in with locks and regulating their pace with sluices is too absurd for consideration. But by Ben-Sira's time things have changed. Some of the ideas of Greece have found their way into Palestine, and the measuring of syllables is probably one of them. Since inspiration flows now in no such torrents, art has to do something to compensate for the loss. The fact, then, that Ben-Sira's work is metrical shows the gulf that separates the Psalms from 200 B.C.

Secondly, let us compare the society addressed by the author of the second or the forty-fifth Psalm with that to which Ben-Sira speaks. "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings: be prudent, ye that judge the earth." "Hearken, O daughter, and give ear"—this is how the author of Psalm xlv. addresses a queen! But Ben-Sira's audience is very much humbler. "Make thyself agreeable to the synagogue, and bow thy head before the Rabbi."[1] "Among Rabbis do not exalt thyself, and where there are presbyters do not talk much."[2] What a descent! From a congrega-

[1] Ecclus. iv. 7:— חַבֵּב נַפְשְׁךָ לַכְּנֶסֶת
וְלָרַב הָמֵךְ אֶת־רֹאשֶׁךָ

[2] Ecclus. xxxv. 9:— בֵּין רַבְרְבָנִים אַל תִּתְרַבְרַב
וּזְקֵנִים לֹא הַרְבֵּה תָסִיחַ (Syr. חַרְפָּה תִסְנַח).

tion of kings and queens to one in which the Rabbi of the synagogue is the towering figure! After enumerating the great men of his race the author thinks fit to mention as its last hero a certain Simon son of Onias, of whom unfortunately little is known; but his services to the community seem to have consisted in spending money on public buildings. Ben-Sira is fully conscious of the oppressed condition of the community of which he is a member; he prays for the renewal of the wonders of which he has read so much, and desires that some positive proof should be given of the grandeur of Israel; and it may be that that prayer helped to raise up Judas Maccabæus. But if we wish to find the parallel to the society which Ben-Sira addresses, we shall find it in the works of authors like Saadyah, who writes as a member of a subject community at a time when the Caliphate of Baghdad was supreme in the Eastern world.

Thirdly, a word may be said about Ben-Sira's language. Jewish writers call him "one of our holy Rabbis,"[1] and the specimens which the oral tradition preserved of his verses bear this statement out. He writes the language of the Rabbis, not the language of any part of the Bible. An oral interpretation of large portions of the Old Testament was then current; and when his metre requires it, he substitutes the words used in that oral interpretation for those of the text of the Old Testament. The beginnings of the Mishnah can here and there be traced in his work, and even a few of the technical terms[2] which the scribes evolved in the course of their study of the law. The name Mishnah itself was not yet in circulation, for that is apparently several centuries posterior to the Christian era.

That Ben-Sira knew and used the Wisdom of Solomon

[1] Nahmanides in his Preface to the Law at the end.

[2] *E.g.*, *halachas*, i. 4*d*.

was suggested in the former article. This proposition must now be demonstrated.

In his account of Solomon he states that "the countries marvelled at his *Odes*, *Parables*, *Proverbs*, and *Commentaries*."[1] Since the first three of these names clearly refer to the writings attributed to Solomon—and indeed "the countries" could scarcely wonder at them except by reading them—it is probable that the fourth word "Commentaries" also refers to a book; the alternate text of this verse substitutes "Prophecies" for "Commentaries," but this is probably a guess at an unusual word. The first three are clearly identical with the Song of Songs, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; for Ecclesiastes is certainly imitated by Ben-Sira; and since the tradition which identified Koheleth or "the Preacher" with Solomon is not known to have sprung up after Ben-Sira's time, we are justified in finding an allusion to it in either "Proverbs" or "Parables." As is well known, the ancient languages do not distinguish very carefully between these two notions, and which ever of these names does not belong to "Proverbs" is intended to signify Ecclesiastes.

The only book ascribed to Solomon which can with justice be called a Commentary is the *Wisdom of Solomon*. A considerable portion of it might be termed a Midrash on the Pentateuch. The purpose of this sort of commentary is not linguistic, but edifying or homiletic; it gives an insight into the deeper or more hidden meaning of events or enactments; and Wisdom not only reminds the reader of, but is occasionally identical with, the desultory comments on passages of Scripture contained in the Mishnah and Gemara. Ben-Sira's assertion that "the first man had not completely understood the Bible,"[2] implies that such commentaries had been tried by many persons.

[1] xlvii. 17.

[2] xxiv. 26 : לֹא כָלָה רִאשׁוֹן לְדַעְתָּהּ

Secondly, there are places in which Ben-Sira has matter that is very similar to that contained in Wisdom. And in such a case it is reasonable to assign the priority to Wisdom, on the ground that Ben-Sira confesses himself an excerptor.[1] Whether Solomon wrote Wisdom or any one else, the book makes no similar *confession* to that which Ben-Sira makes. The writer of Wisdom claims to have been naturally talented, and by praying for Wisdom to have obtained it. It at any rate lays claim to originality, and in the places where it bears a strong resemblance to other books we shall presently have to inquire into the justice of that claim.

The remarkable passage Wisdom iii. 16 to iv. 6 is too strikingly like certain passages of Ben-Sira's book to admit the possibility of independence. The treble doctrine that is taught in these passages is that the offspring of adultery will not thrive; that even if they live long, it will not avail them; and that childlessness is better than an ill-doing progeny. The corresponding passages of Ben-Sira are xvi. 1–3, xxiii. 22–27, xli. 5–11. If these passages of Ben-Sira be read side by side with those of Wisdom, it will, I think, seem clear that the priority is with the latter. In the first place the verses form a single paragraph in Wisdom, whereas they are scattered about Ben-Sira. Secondly, some things that are clear in Wisdom are obscure in Ben-Sira. "Such fruit," says the author of Wisdom, speaking of adulterous offspring, "is uneatable and generally useless, for such children are a witness to the wickedness of their parents." Compare with this the account of the adulteress in Ben-Sira xxiii. 25: "Her children shall not take root, and her branches shall not give fruit"; and xli. 7, "An impious father shall be reproached by his children, because on his account they shall suffer shame."

Wisdom iv. 1: "Better is childlessness with virtue, for

[1] xxiv. 28.

immortality is in the memory of it, since it is recognised by God and man; whereas a prolific crowd of evildoers will not be of use." Ben-Sira xvi. 1: "Desire not a multitude of *useless* children, neither rejoice over impious sons: if they be many, rejoice not over them, if the fear of the Lord be not with them. For one is better than a thousand, and to die childless than to have impious children."

Wisdom iii. 16: "The children of adulterers shall be without result, and the offspring of unlawful union shall be destroyed. If they be long-lived, they shall not be accounted of: and their old age at the end shall be dishonoured. And if they die quickly, they shall have no hope, neither consolation in the day of discrimination."

Ben-Sira xli. 5 (after observations on the fact that death is appointed to all mankind): "Abominable children are the children of sinners, and they that consort with the dwellings of the impious: woe unto you, impious men, that have abandoned the law of the Most High; if ye are born, ye shall be born unto cursing; and if ye die, a curse shall be your portion." "The grief of men is over their bodies; but the ill name of sinners shall be blotted out. Have a care of your name, for that will last longer than a thousand myriad talents of coin.[1] A good life lasts a few days, whereas a good name lasts for ever."

I can only regard the verses of Ben-Sira as a paraphrase of the doctrine of Wisdom. Immortality may be interpreted in three ways: either (1) as *continuity*; and this interpretation we find in Plato. A man has a share in immortality in so far as he has the power of being a parent. Hence the high importance attached to parenthood in many religious systems. Each citizen is bound to see that the honours of the gods do not lapse; and this can only be by a constant supply of persons to maintain them. But if the offspring be either unlawfully born, or be of bad character, this form

[1] מֵאֶלֶף רַבּוֹת אוֹצָרוֹת הוֹן

of immortality is undesirable. The curious thing is that neither the author of Wisdom nor Ben-Sira can quite distinguish between these two alternatives. (2) As perpetuation of the *name*. Whereas, says the author of Wisdom, the immortality which most men aim at consists in leaving descendants (compare Ben-Sira xxx. 4), virtue gives an immortal *name*. It is admired during life, and mourned for after death. This doctrine is found in Plato also, where the observation is made that the immortality of a Homer or Hesiod is a better thing than the immortality which consists in being one of an infinite series. The thought of this form of immortality is what suggests to Ben-Sira the "praise of famous men" (men of name) with which his book closes. (3) As personal continuance after death. This doctrine involves that of the resurrection and the final judgment. Ben-Sira hopes to be one of those who shall rise at the coming of Elijah. "He of whom it is written in the 'Remonstrances,' that he shall come to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children; happy he who, having seen thee, is cut off: how much happier we who shall arise!"[1] The author of Wisdom is far clearer on this subject. The idea that early or even shameful death is a misfortune is, he says, a mistake due to superficiality. The certainty we have of God's justice proves that the condition of things must have been misunderstood. On the "day of discrimination" the wicked will find out their error—when it is too late to repair it. They will turn out to have forfeited all three sorts of immortality; for their children will not survive; their name, if it survives, will be ignominious; and finally, the next world has no consolation for them, but the very contrary.

[1] xlviii. 10:

הַכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹכָחוֹת לְאִתּוֹת
לְהָשִׁיב לֵב אָבוֹת אֶל בָּנִים
אַשְׁרֵי רוֹאֶיךָ וּמִתְחַמֵּם
אַף כִּי אֲנַחְנוּ חָיֹה נִחְיֶה

Whereas, then, in Wisdom we have this (assuredly remarkable) doctrine worked out in a series of closely reasoned paragraphs, the ideas are scattered about Ben-Sira's book: nor is Ben-Sira sufficiently philosophical to banish from his work the commoner notions. It would seem to be characteristic of *proverbial* philosophy not to trouble itself to reconcile the often contradictory aphorisms which superficial examination of phenomena suggests. But what seems clear is that the paragraphs in Ben-Sira and those in Wisdom cannot be independent; the one writer must be adopting the ideas and even the phrases of the other. And since Ben-Sira acknowledges himself an imitator, and seems very clearly to mention Wisdom among Solomon's writings, we are justified in concluding that Ben-Sira imitates Wisdom. Hence we have shown that Wisdom was a Hebrew classic to Ben-Sira, who attributed it to Solomon. In the last paper reasons were given for thinking Wisdom the first Hebrew book translated into Greek. Hence we have taken Wisdom back to about 350 B.C. Let us see whether we can take it back still further.

The chief question that suggests itself is connected with the passage in which the origin of idolatry is explained (xiii. 10–19). Much of this passage is also found in Isaiah xl.–xliv. Is it the case that the verses in Wisdom are taken from Isaiah, or that the verses in Isaiah are taken from Wisdom?

The clue that we have to start with is the same with which the above inquiry in the case of Ben-Sira started. Isaiah is known to embody in his prophecies matter that already existed; so in xvi. 13 he says, "This is the word which the Lord spake against Moab aforetime"; and the prophecy with which chapter ii. starts is also an old one. Wisdom, as we have seen, acknowledges no obligations.

In the second place, the description in Wisdom forms a closely reasoned paragraph, whereas in Isaiah the verses

are scattered and mingled with other matter. Either, then, they are scattered reminiscences of Wisdom utilized by the prophet, or the author of Wisdom has gathered the disconnected verses of Isaiah. The former is the more likely operation.

It is also a canon that the more intelligible passage is likely to be the earlier. In Wisdom everything is clear. After condemning other forms of Paganism, the author proceeds to that which consists in worshipping idols, which he shows us means putting faith in the dead. These idols are either of metal, or of stone, or of wood. The process by which the last is made is then described. Some carpenter cuts down a tree, scrapes off the bark, and first of all makes some utensil or piece of furniture. The sawdust and chips he then uses for cooking his food. Probably some knotty and crooked stump remains, and of this in his idle hours he makes a god. He carves it, that is to say, into the resemblance of a man or some animal, *paints it red*, raises for it a shrine to which he nails it, so that it should not fall: for, being an image, it cannot help itself.

If we compare this description with Isaiah's (xliv. 13–16), we shall find some certain marks of originality in the description given in Wisdom. Isaiah in his indignation has *forgotten one important detail* in the operation; viz., the original purpose of the carpenter in cutting down the tree, which was of course to make some article of furniture. The purpose of the operations with gauge, rule, and pencil described in Isaiah xliv. 13 must surely be to make a table or a chair; but the writer has simply *forgotten that it is so*. The place where the furniture should be mentioned is xliv. 16: "The half thereof he burnt in fire; on the half thereof he eats flesh, he roasts him a roast, and fills himself; yea, he warms himself and says: I am warm, I have seen fire." It is evident that the prophet's idea of the use of the second "half" does not differ materially from the first. Perhaps

we are to distinguish the cooking fire from the warming fire, but this distinction seems strange. Yet in verse 18, where the description is repeated, the real distinction is still obscured. The further operations of fixing the image in the shrine are mentioned by Isaiah xl. 20, where a clever carpenter is sought in order to fix the statue so that it should not fall. The cleverness would seem rather to be required for *shaping the image* out of the wood, as is described in Wisdom xiii. 13.

In Wisdom xv. 7–10 another form of image is described; viz., that produced by the potter. He, we are told, rivals the metal-workers, and thinks it a great thing to counterfeit their work. But it is his heart which is *dust*, and his hope which is more worthless than *earth*, and his life which is more dishonourable than *clay*. For surely he must know how absurd his practice is. Of all forms of image-maker, the potter is the most contemptible. If we study Isaiah xl.–xliv., two phrases will be found that seem to come from the Solomonic description.

xliv. 20: "He feedeth on dust; a deceived heart has made him to swerve," follows after the account of the worker in wood. For the words "he feedeth on dust" the LXX. substitutes what is clearly a reminiscence of the passage of Wisdom, "know that his heart is dust." This reminiscence is felicitous, but not employed with sufficient dexterity; it should rather have taught them to render the words of Isaiah, "his thought is dust:[1] a deceived heart has led him astray." Thus it appears that both writers use the same phrase, the author of Wisdom of the potter, Isaiah of the worker in wood. But in Wisdom it is suggested by the context. The potter is said to be the most contemptible of the idol-makers, because his material is *worthless*. Gold and silver are at any rate precious metals; and wood is not valueless, for a special kind of tree has to

[1] Pointing רֵעָה for רֹעֶה.

be sought out for such a purpose; but *clay* is worthless, so that to make a god of *it* is the grossest form of Paganism. The brains of such an idol-maker must be as worthless as his material. And the writer repeats this thought twice.

But in Isaiah, where the sort of idol described is one of *wood*, this thought is not suggested by the context, since the prophet allows that the material is of some value. We might, indeed, render the word translated "dust" by "ashes," and think of a reference to the parts of the tree that have been *burned*; but we should have to supply in thought too many premisses, in addition to the fact that it is unfair to identify the material (wood) in the state in which an idol can be made of it with the same material in a wholly different state. Hence we have two writers employing the same phrase, and one so remarkable in its character that they cannot be employing it independently. To one of these writers it is suggested by his context, while to the other it is not suggested by the context, though the context may very well have *reminded* him of it. Hence it must be the property of the former writer, and borrowed by the latter.

Next we see that the author of Wisdom taunts the potter with *rivalling* the workers in more choice material. Compare with this Isaiah xli. 6: "Each man helps his neighbour and says to his brother, Be strong." "So the smith strengthened the smelter, the hammerer the forger. Saying of the soldering, It is good, and strengthening it with nails that it should not fall." This "strengthening" would seem to refer to the co-operation of various labourers in making an idol; it reminds us of the word *rivalling* used in Wisdom of the potter, which would probably be expressed in Hebrew by a derivative of the same root.[1] Moreover we have seen already that the operation of fixing

[1] חזק.

with nails seems to belong rather to the case of the wooden idol with which Wisdom associates it.

A point noticed by the author of Wisdom, but not by Isaiah, is the painting of the wooden image with red chalk or red lead. The localization of this practice would require some archæological investigation.[1] The combination of this statement in Wisdom with the other about nailing the image to its place reminds us of a fragment quoted by Suidas,[2] which refers to the treatment of an image by the people of *Tyre*. At the time of the attack on their city by Alexander the Tyrians, fearing that one of their idols intended to desert to the enemy, "nailed it to its base, and scourged it with ropes steeped in red lead." I presume that the purpose of that substance was to make it seem as though the scourging had drawn blood.

Whereas then the supposition that the stray flashes in Isaiah were combined by the author of Wisdom into his orderly and closely reasoned paragraphs presents considerable difficulty, the hypothesis that Isaiah wove into his "remonstrances" various phrases taken from the passage in Wisdom suits all the facts that are before us.

Isaiah xxviii. 15: "Ye have said, We have made a covenant with death and a treaty with the grave." The idea of making a covenant with death is not quite easy to grasp. People who thoughtlessly devote themselves to pleasure are sometimes said to act as though they had *immunity* from death;[3] but to make a *covenant* with death implies giving and taking. What is it, then, that the drunkards reproved by Isaiah give death in order that they in turn may be delivered from the passing scourge? This is not stated by the prophet, who only assures them that their covenant

[1] Pliny asserts that the gods of the Ethiopians were painted red.

[2] *s.v.* μίλτος.

[3] Hariri, ed. de Sacy, p. 108: "'Tis as though ye had put yourselves under the protection of death, and had procured a safe-conduct from destiny.

will be got rid of; death will find a quibble by which to get out of it.[1] But in Wisdom i. 16, where the same phrase occurs, we again find ourselves in the middle of a closely reasoned paragraph, which tells us far more of the nature of the contract in question. Death had originally no part in the world. It is the conduct of the wicked that has summoned him. "Thinking him a friend, they melted (?) and made a treaty with him." Of what notion the word "melted" is a mistranslation it is not necessary now to inquire;[2] we learn, however, that the treaty with death was to admit him into the world on condition that he spared them. This, then, seems to be the same phenomenon as before: what is a flash in Isaiah is part of a steady flame in Wisdom. And when this reminiscence has been identified, other points in Isaiah xxviii. are made more intelligible by the same clue. The coarse verse xxviii. 8 is the prophetic representation of Wisdom ii. 7: "Let us leave everywhere signs of our merriment." The "crown of pride of the drunkards," which is the subject of verses 1, 3, and 4 in Isaiah, is the crown of rose-blossoms which the drunkards in Wisdom would put on before they fade.

Isaiah xl. 15: "With whom took He counsel? For the nations are like a drop *from a bucket*, and are accounted as the dust of the balance." Wisdom xi. 22: "Who shall resist the might of Thy arm, seeing that the nations before Thee are like the dust of the balance, or like a drop of morning dew *descending*[3] to the earth?" It is evident that either Isaiah is imitating Wisdom, or the author of Wisdom is imitating Isaiah. In the case of one of these images the imitation is close, in that of the other it is remote. The context must decide with whom the originality lies. The

[1] The phrase in Isaiah is very near the Arabic usage.

[2] Perhaps המסו in Syriac, "they sought" (*Thes. Syr.*, col. 1021).

[3] The word מדלי (from a bucket) is used with the sense "ascending" of dust in B. *Taanith*, 9*b*.

author of Wisdom is dealing with the power of God as compared with that of *man*. He chooses to punish men in kind (compare B. *Sotah*, 9*b*), *i.e.*, in the same manner as they have sinned. And this must be designed; for owing to His almighty power he could punish them in any way He chose. For who can resist Him, seeing how infinitely great He is as compared with man? Here, therefore, the context requires that the infinite disproportion between man and God should be illustrated in some such way as is here given. But in the passage of Isaiah there is no such necessity. It is the *absolute* greatness of God with which the prophet is occupied; he is explaining how utterly unworthy of Him is the idea which the idol represents. Hence the *nations* are only mentioned in a series of objects; they are followed by the *isles*; then by the forest and the herds of Lebanon, which together would not produce an adequate sacrifice. The context does not, therefore, necessitate an illustration of the triviality of the nations. If the author of the Wisdom of Solomon were consciously borrowing a phrase from either the original of Isaiah or from the LXX. version, his altering it would be surprising; but if he altered it in order to avoid the appearance of anachronism, it is strange that he should not have altered it more completely. On the other hand, there would be nothing remarkable in Isaiah, while utilizing the phrases of a national classic, altering them arbitrarily.

What the two illustrations actually meant is another question. If the "dust of the balance" mean a weight so small that its addition or subtraction makes no appreciable difference, it is an appropriate concept, though the possibility of such an interpretation is doubtful. "The drop from the bucket" is picturesque, but suggests the disproportion less forcibly than we should have expected it to be expressed: in Wisdom the drop of morning dew is sufficiently forcible as well as picturesque, but scarcely natural. Probably the

actual illustrations which lie at the base of both passages are lost.

The most remarkable parallel between Isaiah and Wisdom is, however, to be found in the celebrated fifty-third of Isaiah as compared with Wisdom ii.–v.

The chief differences between the scene presented in Wisdom and that in Isaiah are three: (1) In Wisdom the Sufferer is distinctly said to call Himself the *Son of God* (ii. 16, 18), whereas in Isaiah the words Righteous and Servant are applied to Him, but not Son. (2) In Wisdom nothing is said of His intercessory function, on which so much stress is laid by Isaiah. (3) In Wisdom the oppressors of the Just One are identified with those who afterwards marvel at His deliverance, whereas in Isaiah there is not more than a passing allusion to this.

Otherwise the scene in Isaiah greatly resembles a reduction or abridgment of the scene in Wisdom. What is it at which the nations and kings, whose words are recorded in Isaiah liii., wonder? Wisdom tells us: "They shall wonder at His extraordinary deliverance" (v. 2). "We thought His life madness and His end dishonoured: how then is He reckoned among the Sons of God, and His lot among the Holy Ones?" Wisdom says, "His endurance must be put to the test" (ii. 19); Isaiah adds that this test was properly undergone. The dishonourable *death* is insisted on by Wisdom (ii. 20, v. 4), while the remarkable character of His *burial* strikes Isaiah (liii. 9). Even Isaiah's first phrase in this most remarkable passage seems to require Wisdom to interpret it: "Behold my Servant shall *be prudent*" (lii. 13). This must mean what we are told in Wisdom (iii. 9): "They that trust in Him *shall understand the truth*, and those that are fearful in love shall wait for Him," *i.e.*, shall understand the Divine counsel in allowing apparent injustice to be perpetrated, whereas the wicked who interpret the facts superficially are absolutely deluded (ii. 22).

Although in these two passages there are striking differences, as well as similarities, and the comparison between them by no means lessens the admiration which each of the writers may claim, it seems rather easier to think of Wisdom as utilized by Isaiah than of Isaiah as utilized by Wisdom. The phrase "Righteous, my Servant" (Isaiah liii. 11) implies familiarity on the prophet's part with the identification of the typically Righteous One with the Servant of the Lord, and this identification needs Wisdom ii. 12, 13 to explain it: "Let us waylay the Righteous, for He is grievous unto us; He professes to have knowledge of God, and calls Himself the Servant of God." 18: "If the Righteous be the Son of God, He will help Him." v. 1: "Then shall the Righteous stand with much boldness before the face of His oppressors." Here we see that the name whereby He is familiarly known to the author of Wisdom is "the Righteous," whereas to Isaiah He is best known as "the Servant of the Lord." But the name "Righteous" is so familiar to Isaiah that he can use it as a proper name without the article; whereas in Wisdom (ii. 13), where the statement that the Righteous is God's servant is regarded as an arrogant assumption by the wicked, which they propose to put to the test, the latter is clearly not yet a familiar phrase in this context. Hence Isaiah implies Wisdom, but Wisdom does not imply Isaiah.

"By His knowledge shall Righteous, my Servant, justify many." Here again the thought is not sufficiently clear without the guidance of Wisdom (ii. 13): "He professes to have knowledge of God." His insight into God's purpose is what, enabling Him to stand every trial, justifies the human race, because Satan's accusation against it is answered. In the chapter on Job this will be more fully worked out.

D. S. Margoliouth.

(To be continued.)

ON CERTAIN OBSCURE NAMES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT:

A PROBLEM IN PALÆOGRAPHY.

AMONGST the many tendencies which can be traced in the various readings of the New Testament, one of the most curious is the tendency to furnish anonymous characters with proper names, so as, for example, to identify more clearly such shadowy persons as the two crucified thieves, or the rich man at whose gate Lazarus lay, or the centurion at the cross, whom the Peter Gospel calls Petronius, but other legends by the name of Longinus. The existence of such a tendency may, perhaps, be challenged at the outset of our inquiry, and we may be asked how we know that the names have been added to persons who are rightly anonymous, and whether it may not be the case that the tradition of the name is original and primitive, and that it has merely been lost sight of in those texts which appear to be anonymous. Certainly we must not, at the very outset of our inquiry, make the assumption that gives priority to the canonically anonymous person over the uncanonical nomenclature which we may find in stray lines of tradition outside the New Testament and in occasional copies of the New Testament itself. We will simply state the case, as it actually occurs. There is a divergence of tradition with regard to certain characters of the New Testament, one line of tradition leaving them nameless, and the other supplying them with names; and it is required that we estimate the relative value of the divergent traditions. Is

there more weight to be attached to St. Luke's anonymous statement that there was "a certain rich man, clothed in purple and fine linen," or to the statement found in certain authorities that the name of the rich man was—what we shall presently find it affirmed to have been. Or shall we combine the traditions harmonistically, since the man, in any case, was not really anonymous, and make an expanded text of St. Luke, so as to cover the whole of the information.

We have a case somewhat like those to which we have alluded in the statement of St. John that the servant whose ear Peter cut off was named Malchus. This is an expansion which John makes to the account in Mark, whose text is implied to underlie the fourth Gospel; but no one is justified in making severe criticisms on the addition, as though it were merely editorial; for why should it not also be correct? And if we allow for the possible correctness in such a case as the addition of the name of Malchus by St. John, why should we *a priori* discredit those later copyists and historians who have added precisely similar information with regard to other nameless persons in the New Testament? Clearly the inquiry should be an open one, and we should not hastily predict where it is likely to lead us, but collect the facts of the tradition patiently, and then see how far they can be reconciled with the belief that they contain a historical element.

In the first of the cases to which we have alluded in our opening sentence, that, viz., of the two thieves who were crucified with our Lord, we find them anonymous in most of the copies and versions of the Gospel, but at the same time there is no slight body of evidence as to the names which they respectively bore. And this evidence we must endeavour to tabulate.

Beginning with the Gospels, a glance at the critical apparatus of Tischendorf will show under Matthew 27[38]

(τότε σταυροῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ δύο λῃσταί, εἷς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἷς ἐξ εὐωνύμων) the following note :

ἐκ δεξιῶν : *c.* add *nomine zoatham*, item post εὐωνύμων *nomine camma.* Alia nomina (*Dismas* vel *Dimas* et *Gestas*) praebent act^{pi} : cf. in ed. mea pp. 231 et 286 :

from which we learn that a famous Old Latin codex (known as Colbertinus) has names for the two thieves respectively ; but that these names are found in quite a different form in the body of legends which go under the name of the Acts of Pilate or Gospel of Nicodemus.

In the Gospel of Mark 15 ^{27}, we again find in the same Old Latin codex (*c*) the additions *nomine zoathan* and *nomine chammatha* after *a dextris* and *a sinistris* respectively.

Tischendorf again refers to the names as given in the *Acta Pilati* in the forms Γεστᾶς and Δυσμᾶς (Δημᾶς).

In the Gospel of Luke 23 ^{32}, we find a similar addition of the names in the text of the Old Latin codex *l* (known as Rhedigerianus), where the words *ioathas et maggatras* follow the statement *ducebantur autem et alii duo latrones cum eo.* It will be observed that the names differ slightly in Luke in cod. *l* from the forms given in Matthew and Mark from cod. *c* : nor is the attempt made to distinguish between the thief on the right hand and the thief on the left. But inasmuch as one of the names in question *ioathas* is evidently the same as *zoatham* (*zoathan*) we can hardly have fallen upon a completely independent tradition.[1]

When we turn to the Old Latin codex *r* (Codex Usserianus), we find the deciphered portion of the MS. in Luke 23 ^{22} to be as follows :

[du
ceba]ntur autem et alii duo m[a
ligni] cum illo ut crucifigere[ntur
. . .] et capnatas . et postquam :

[1] Probably it is the same tradition that turns up in the *Collectanea* attached to the works of the Venerable Bede : "Die mihi nomina duorum latronum qui

from which it appears that in this MS. also there stood the names of the robbers, but at a later place than in cod. *l*, which has the words added after *cum illo*. One of these names is illegible; the other varies strikingly from cod. *l*. From these three Old Latin MSS. we deduce, then, the following traditions as to the names:

		Right-hand.		Left-hand.
Cod. *c* . .	Matt. . .	*zoatham*	and	*camma.*
	Mark . .	*zoathan*	„	*cammatha.*
		(?) Right-hand.		(?) Left-hand.
Cod. *l* . .	Luke . .	*ioathas*	„	*maggatras.*
Cod. *r* . .	Luke		„	*capnatas.*

Now let us turn to the nomenclature, as given in the *Acta Pilati*. As is well known, these Acts were published by Tischendorf in two separate recensions, which he calls A and B. We are not concerned at this point with the criticism or with the editing of the *Acta*; it is probable that Tischendorf's distinction between the recensions is not final, and the criticism of the texts is far from being satisfactory: what we are concerned with, however, is the evidence for the tradition of the names. Accordingly we note that in what is called recension A of the *Acta* we are told in c. ix. that Pilate directed that Jesus should be fixed to the cross in the garden where He was apprehended, and that Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, should be crucified along with him. The variation in the texts at this point is not very great: we have in the Greek Δυσμᾶς and Γέστας with a variant Στέγας, in the Coptic *Demas* and *Cystas*, and in the Latin {Dismas / Dimas / Dymas} and Gestas.

In the next chapter (c. x.), after the statement that "they hanged likewise the two malefactors," the critical apparatus

cum Jesu crucifixi sunt. Matha et Joca. Matha credidit, Joca negavit vitam, mortem elegit."

shows the following expansions to the text (which expansions have not met with editorial approval):

B add *τον μεν ἑνα ἐκ δεξιων, τον δε ἑτερον ἐξ εὐωνυμων*, item A Copt. Latt. *Δυσμαν ἐκ δεξιων και Στεγαν* (Latt. Copt. *Gestam*) *ἐξ εὐωννμων.*

A little further on in the same chapter, we are told that "one of the malefactors who were hanged with Him said, Save Thyself and us. But Dysmas answered him and said, Dost thou not fear God?" etc.

Here the critical apparatus betrays the addition of the words "whose name was Gestas" to the description of the first robber, while the same variation between *Δυσμας* and *Δημας* occurs. The Coptic version also makes the good robber to be Dysmas (Demas) and relates that

Demas quum finem fecisset increpandi Gestam, clamavit: Memento mei, etc.

So far as these authorities go, we have then the statement that the two robbers were named Dysmas and Gestas (possibly Demas and Gestas), and it is suggested that Dysmas was the good robber.

In the second group of authorities from whom Tischendorf edits we find in c. ix. 3 for the words

μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφερον καὶ δύο λῃστάς, τὸν μὲν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἀριστερᾷ

a variation in one MS. to the following effect:

Cod C. *τότε σταυροῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ δύο λῃσταί, εἷς ἐκ δεξιῶν ὀνόματι Δυσμᾶς, καὶ εἷς ἐξ εὐωνύμων ὀνόματι Γίσταs,*

where the spelling should be carefully noted.

In c. x. 6 we find the statement that *Dysmas* was the good robber, on the right hand (of Christ), and that *Gestas* or *Gistas* was the bad robber.

ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει ἐσταυρωμένος λῃστὴς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· ἐὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱος εἶ, κατάβηθι καὶ σῶσον καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς· ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἦν Γιστᾶς· ὁ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσταυρωμένος ὀνόματι Δυσμᾶς ὠνείδιζε τὸν αὐτὸν λῃστὴν λέγων·

Here Tischendorf notes *Γίσταϛ* cum A, B *Γήσταϛ* . . . C om. *ὄνομα* usq. *Γίστ*. The Cod. C has, however, added at an earlier point the statement that the second robber was named Gistas, and is in evidence for the spelling edited by Tischendorf.

Thus both recensions agree that the names of the two robbers were

Dysmas and Gestas,
[Demas] [Gistas]

and it is suggested on either hand that the former robber was the good one, and was crucified on the right hand.[1]

The Armenian version of the Acts, which has been studied by Mr. Conybeare, gives the names as *Demas* and *Gestas*, and makes Demas occupy the right hand and Gestas the left.[2]

It will be observed, then, that we have what appear to be widely divergent traditions with regard to the names of the two robbers; nor does it seem at all easy to reconcile the traditions one with the other.

We will, therefore, go further afield, and collect some

[1] Probably the *Acta* are the source of the names as they appear in late representations of the crucifixion: *e.g.* in the Gospel of Bishop Egbert of Trier the names over the heads are Desmas and Cesmas. Desmas is the penitent.

[2] This is almost the same thing as saying that Dysmas (Demas) is the good robber; for he is named first, and has the place of honour; moreover the traditions of the early Church are in favour of the belief that the penitent thief occupied the place on the right hand. Mr. Conybeare points out allusions to the Acts, which may be quoted in support of this statement. For example, in the Homily of Ps.-Aristides de Latrone (Venice, 1878) we have, "And now I pray you all, friends of the Christian race, to be instructed by *the faith of the right-hand thief* and to agree with him. Despise the left-hand one and his associates. . . . for he has withdrawn himself to the left hand and stationed himself there," etc.

And in the Acts of Polyeuctes (*Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, par B. Aubé, Paris, 1882), Nearchus, the friend of the martyr, says: "Yes, and thou mayest remember yet another incident . . . and this is from the history of the Lord. Bethink thee of the thief who was crucified *on the right-hand side*: what did he say to the thief who was *crucified on the left*, and who reviled the Lord?"

To these references, which I owe to Mr. Conybeare, many more might, no doubt, be added.

fresh material for the solution of this very interesting problem.

So far we have not examined any Syriac tradition bearing on the question; the Armenian texts are declared by Mr. Conybeare to be derived from the Greek, and we need not, therefore, regard them as adding anything fresh to the materials for the solution of our problem. They follow, at all events, the Greek spelling and order of the names.

Let us now turn to the Syriac literature, and see whether there is any knowledge of a tradition concerning the names of the two robbers.

If we examine Bar Hebraeus' commentary on Matthew, we find the following note on the words "And there were crucified with Him two robbers":[1]

The one on his right hand, named Titus, ܛܝܛܘܣ, and the one on his left hand, Dumachus, ܕܘܡܟܘܣ, for thus it is found in the book of the holy Hierotheus, the disciple of the great Paul.

It will be observed that Bar Hebraeus does not cite as his authority any codex of the New Testament, but only the book of Hierotheus. This book is supposed to be the work of the pantheist Bar Ṣudaili,[2] and is closely connected with all those fictions which pass under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. From a copy in my possession I am able to verify the reference of Bar Hebraeus.

In the twenty-first chapter of the book of Hierotheus, we find as follows:

"But he beholds also the soul that is on his right hand, which is crucified like Titus; but the body, like Dumachus, on his left hand."

This somewhat obscure passage, with regard to the crucifixion of soul and body with Christ, is explained in a marginal comment of Bar Hebraeus, who has carefully annotated the whole text of Hierotheus, as follows:

[1] Ed. Spanuth. p. 65.

[2] See Frothingham: *Stephen Bar Ṣudaili.*

"Namely, between the soul and the body, even as Christ also between the two thieves."

Here, then, we find in the Syriac literature what appears to be a third pair of names for the two thieves, viz., Titus and Dumachus, of whom Titus stands for the soul in the mysticism of Hierotheus, and Dumachus for the body; *i.e.* the good robber is Titus, and occupies the place on the right hand. And it should be observed that Hierotheus uses the names freely, and without any explanation, as if they would readily be understood by his readers. So that we may assume that the tradition of the names was well established when he wrote, perhaps at the end of the fifth century.

Now the tradition that the two names were Titus and Dumachus is not confined to Hierotheus and Bar Hebraeus.

In the twenty-third chapter of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,[1] we find a story that when our Lord was taken into Egypt, Joseph and Mary designed to pass over a part of the desert by night, because it was infested by robbers. But as they went on their way, they lighted on two robbers, sleeping, and a multitude of other robbers with them, who were asleep and snoring. The two robbers whom they came across were Titus and Dumachus, and Titus begged of Dumachus to let the party pass, and not to call the attention of the gang to them. He gave him forty drachmas, and pledged his purse with him, if only he would let them alone. Now when the lady Mary saw the kindly disposition of the robber, she besought for him piously the support of the Lord and the remission of his sins. At this the child Jesus intervened with a prophecy: "After thirty years," said he, "the Jews will crucify me in Jerusalem, and these two robbers shall be crucified at the same time, Titus at my right hand, and Dumachus on my

[1] Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus novi Testamenti*, p. 65. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 181.

left; and Titus shall go before me on that day into Paradise." This story, which seems to be invented in order to establish merit for the penitent robber in his past history, finds its way also into some copies of the Acts of Pilate, but with a change of the names to Dysmas and Gestas, so as to agree with the tradition of the *Acta*.[1]

The same tradition turns up in the Book of the Bee (ed. Budge, p. 87). "When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, the name of the other Dumachus. Dumachus wished to harm them, and to treat them ill, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion."

It seems, however, that Titus and Dumachus are the proper form for the Syriac and for the Arabic derived from it. And here we may very well make a pause, and ask whether it is possible that these three lines of tradition can be variants of a primitive form, and whether that form can be recovered. Is there any palæographical connection between

Zoatham and Cammatha.
Dysmas and Gestas.
Titus and Dumachus.

At first sight, the supposition appears to be an impossible one: certainly if these be the data of a problem in palæography, it is nothing like the palæography which we are accustomed to in MSS. of the LXX. and of the New Testament, where the variations occur between narrow and well-defined limits.

As far as I know, there have been no successful attempts to explain these names. It has been suggested, if I remember rightly, that Dysmas might mean the man to the west (*δυσμὰς*) of Christ, the west being the region of darkness. But no corresponding explanation is forthcoming for

[1] See Tischendorf: *Acta Pilati* B. p. 308.

Gestas, who ought, on this showing, to have something to do with the east, which is the region of light, and so to stand for the good robber.

Another suggestion which I have seen somewhere, but where I cannot remember, is that Dumachus is a transliteration of Theomachus (*θεομάχος*), the one who fights against God, so that Dumachus would be the impenitent robber, and Titus the penitent one. Let us see whether this solution is capable of corroboration. It implies, of course, that the names are artificial, and that Titus must be an adjective describing the good robber. Some time since there came into my possession a fragment of a Greek service-book, which contained the following sentences:

δυὸ λῃστῶν συσταυρωθέντων αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν, τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεομάχων δηλῶν γνώμην, ἐβλασφημεῖ αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος καὶ ἡμέτερος, τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ πίστιν ἀπεικονίζων ἔλεγε·

Here the liturgy or hymn has actually conserved for us, in its description of the impenitent thief, the adjective that we are in search of: the impenitent robber is, in fact, a figure of the Jewish people that *wars against God*; the penitent robber adumbrates the calling and the faith of the Gentiles.

The confirmation is so striking that we are disposed to accept the explanation of Dumachus by Theomachus. We then ask whether there is, in the same fragment, any suggestion that will explain Titus. The answer is in the word *πίστιν*, which suggests that we name the penitent robber *ὁ πιστός*.

But now, having gone so far, palæography comes to our aid. Replacing Titus and Dumachus by Pistos and Theomachus, we begin to see that Gestas must be a variant of Pistos; for we find in recension B of the *Acta* that the form ΓΙCΤΑC is established, and between this form and ΠΙCΤΟC the bridge is not, palæographically, a long one. We must now reverse the order of the names, as given in the *Acta*, and read

Gistas (*i.e.* Pistos) and Dysmas [Demas].

The second name has, at least, so much similarity with Dumachus, that we cannot avoid admitting that there is some connection between them. Perhaps there is an intermediate form Dumas which connects Dumachus with Dysmas and Demas.

Having now solved the riddle, so far as these two pairs of names are concerned, we have some important conclusions to draw.

In the first place, it appears that the names are not names at all; they can never have originated in a historical text. No one professing to write history would have introduced such names, and no ordinary transcriber of documents could have perverted the names into the forms which we have to deal with.

In the second place, if the names do not belong to an historical or semi-historical document, then they must be taken from some other form of tradition, and it seems clear that this must have been a picture, perhaps a mosaic, of the crucifixion, or an illumination in a volume of the Gospels, in which, in Greek letters, were written names over the heads of the chief figures, so as to assist the imagination of the pious person. Nothing is easier than the misinterpretation of such names in a mosaic or partly effaced painting.

In the third place, it should be noticed that the investigation does not altogether provoke confidence in the criticism which has been, of late years, occupied in finding traces of primitive readings in the Acts of Pilate. If the foregoing explanations are correct, the names of the robbers in the Acts of Pilate are a misunderstanding of an illumination or design, not belonging to a very early period. And it looks as though the deciphered names had gone a pilgrimage through the Syriac. Their form in the Greek of the Acts is not the first form in which they were deciphered. Add to this the fact that the Acts have transposed the penitent and impenitent thieves, which are given rightly in the

Syriac of Hierotheus. So the evidence is against finding a primitive reading in this feature of the *Acta*.[1]

Returning, now, to the Latin readings, we have to ask whether there is any prospect of explaining

zoatham and cammatha,
ioathas and maggatras,
or
—— and capnatas.

It has been already pointed out that the coincidence of *zoatham* with *ioathas* carries with it a belief that the same pair is intended in the first two cases, so that *cammatha* must be connected palæographically with *maggatras*. But how shall the equation be made? It is further suspicious that a number of the letters in *capnatas* can be paralleled in *cammatha*; but can *pn* be linked in any way with *mm*, so as to derive one of the forms from the other? And, last of all, can we see how to connect these peculiar forms with the root-forms

ΠΙCΤΟC and ΘΕΟΜΑΧΟC

that we have unearthed? These questions are not easy to answer. Perhaps the form *cammatha* may be a misreading in a cursively written Latin, where *t* and *c* are almost identical, of *thammacha*, which would bring us very near, indeed, to the ground form *theomachos*. There is, however, something still wanting to the explanation. Why should the "m" be doubled, for instance? Moreover, the companion names do not seem to yield to investigation.

Shall we, then, abandon the investigation and say that the part of the problem of the names which has to do with their Latin tradition is still an unsolved problem? I confess that I am reluctant to do so, after having made so much progress with the matter.

[1] Mr. Lake has informed me that in an Athos MS. of the Acts of Pilate (Cod. Laura, λ, 117) the names are in the right order. So that perhaps this point, the reversal of the names, ought not to be urged in depreciation of the Greek Acts.

Let us see how far we have really got. We have traced to the original forms ὁ πιστός and ὁ θεομάχος the group of names *Γιστας*, *Γεστας*, and *Τιτος* along with *Dumachus*, *Dusmas*, and *Demas*.

Now the *a priori* impression, which is made upon us by the successful bringing together of such an apparently unconnected group of names, is that the explanation of the remaining group ought to be found on the same line. For why should we multiply hypotheses? Let us then look again at the group

Zoatham and Cammatha,
Zoathan and Chammatha.
Ioathas and Maggatras.
Capnatas.

The left-hand group is clearly from a simple ground form. But is it not clear also that the same is true of the right-hand group? *Capnatas* is a connecting link between *Cammatha* and *Maggatras*. And in a Latin script, the letters C and G are so nearly equivalent that we may trace nearly all the letters of *Cammatha* in *Maggatras*.

Replace the G by C, and it is little more than a chance transposition which takes us from one form to the other. Assuming that one of these forms is the primitive of the other, which of them comes the nearer to the group,

Πιστός and *Θεόμαχος*

and to which member does it approximate?

The answer can only be that *cammatha* is much nearer to the second member than the first. In a cursive Latin the two words in question are certainly capable of *rapprochement*. It seems, then, after all, the residual difficulty is that of determining how to identify the forms.

Zoatham, Joathas } with the forms { Pistos. Gistas. Titus.

But here I confess that my craft fails me, and that there seems at present no hope of a reconciliation of the forms.

The theory that the names of the two thieves are derived from some representation of the crucifixion, finds its confirmation in the case of Longinus the centurion (or soldier), who pierced the Lord's side with a spear. Here it is almost certain that Longinus is derived from the Greek λόγχη ;[1] and though one would more naturally expect some such a form as λογχίτης to be used to describe the person who holds the spear, it is quite within the bounds of the expected that a Latin writer should turn this into Longinus, or that a Greek writer acquainted with Latin should coin the name in that form.

Longinus, then, is a pictorial fiction, an artist's unreality, an inscription to help the imagination. We actually do find such an inscription in the famous Syriac MS. containing a picture of the Crucifixion, which is one of the chief ornaments of the Medicean Library at Florence. A representation of this picture will be found in Assemani's catalogue of the Florence MSS., and a rude reproduction of the upper half of it is in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.[2]

In this picture, however, the names of the thieves are not given, and the name of the spearman is written in Greek. Probably, at the early date of this MS., the names were not widely known. It is, however, clear from the text of the Acts of Pilate that the names of all three were known at the time of the composition of the *Acta* (unless we assume an earlier and simpler form of the work to have disappeared).

Even if we had not the suggestion derived from the peculiar character of the names πιστός and θεόμαχος, that

[1] *e.g. Acta Pilati*, A. x., where some copies read καὶ λαβὼν Λογγῖνος ὁ στρατιώτης λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, and B. x. 2, εἷς στρατιώτης ἐλόγχευσεν αὐτόν.

[2] Art. *Crucifixion*.

they were pictorial and descriptive, we should have been tempted to look for a solution in the direction that we have intimated by the striking analogy of the case of Longinus, which has been shown to be an artificial creation and to be connected with the pictorial representation of the Crucifixion.[1]

There is one other character in the crucifixion scene to whom legend has assigned a name, and whose name is yet unexplained. The man who puts vinegar on a sponge with the object of allaying our Lord's thirst is represented in one famous Crucifixion picture as *Stephaton*. This name I also suspect to be artificial.

I pass on now to a somewhat similar case, viz., the name of the rich man at whose gate Lazarus was laid. In the critical apparatus to Luke 16^{19} we find it stated that the Sahidic version adds the words, "whose name was *Nineue*," and that a scholiast, whose annotations are found in the minuscule Codices 36, 37, etc., *εὗρον δέ τινες καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις τοὔνομα νινεύης λεγόμενον.*

Thus from two quarters comes the suggestion that the rich man was called Ninive[s].

When we turn to the tract on the Passover, which is bound up with the works of Cyprian (ps.-Cyprian *de Pascha computus*), which can be dated from its internal evidence 242–243 A.D., we find a curious variant of this name. In c. 17 we have—

Ab initio non tantum diabolo et angelis eius sed et omnibus peccatoribus a deo ignis est praeparatus, in cuius flamma uri ille *Finaeus* diues ab ipso Dei filio est demonstratus.

Are these two forms *Niniues* and *Finæus* variants of the same tradition, and what is the original base from which they are derived?

On this subject Harnack has written a learned note in

[1] In the *Collectanea* bound up with the works of Bede he is called *Legorrius*, but this is probably only a corruption of *Longinus*.

Texte und Untersuchungen, xiii. Heft i. S. 75. He thinks that *Niniues*, which certainly goes back to the third century, is a corruption of an original Φινεες, which survives in the Latin. And he points out to me in a private communication that the actual form *Finees* is given in Priscillian, tract 9, p. 91. Harnack's opinion is, that, since in Numbers 25. 7 Phinehas is said to be the son of Eleazar, that an attempt has been made to suggest that the poor man who lay neglected at the rich man's gate was the rich man's own father. The suggestion is ingenious, and almost convincing. If I make a counter suggestion, it is due to the measure of success arrived at in the previous investigation as to the names of the two robbers. I propose to try and explain the variants and their origin by the combined use of palæography and pictures.

It will be agreed that there is a connection between

Niniues and Finaeus.

The actual coincidences in the letters are sufficiently striking; and if the spelling of the second name be Finees, as in the Old Latin of Numbers 25 [illegible], the case is not much different.

Suppose, however, we write down the word

diues

we find the last four letters to be in exact coincidence with the last four letters of *Niniues*, and this agreement makes us stop and think whether a further agreement may not be possible; the word, however, is too short, and the suggestion occurs that a word of two or three letters has dropped out before *diues*. I can only think of (*a*) the equivalent of the article (ὁ πλούσιος) which would be

hic diues,

or (*b*) an interjection, suitable to pictorial representations, such as

en diues.[1]

[1] The difficulty is to find parallels to such an assumed pictorial representa-

From one of these two forms, probably the second, the name of the rich man may have been evolved. The advantage of such a solution is that it lies in the nature of things; if the Gospel simply calls him "the rich man," then an illustration of the Gospel is likely to give the same description, rather than to invent a name or to borrow one out of the Old Testament. The most serious objection to such a solution would, perhaps, be that we do not know anything of the existence of such pictorial illustrations of the parables of the New Testament, at the early time required by the patristic and textual evidence.[1]

J. Rendel Harris.

THE FIRST MIRACLE AND THE EXALTATION OF CHRIST'S HUMAN NATURE.

"And the third day there was a marriage."—*St. John* ii. 1.

Those who have written in defence of Christianity have been for the most part wont to lay great stress on what they have described as the simple and inartificial character of the Gospels. Of recent years, however, the minute analysis to which they have been subjected by sceptic and Christian commentator alike, has revealed to us that the Gospels should rather be regarded as works of consummate art. Nor does it seem easy to understand why any Chris-

tion with accompanying legends. The famous Diptych of Rambona, which is one of the oldest of extant crucifixions, has *mulier en* over the head of the Virgin, and *dissipule ecce* over the head of St. John, accompanied by *Ego sum* $\overline{Ihs}$ *nasaraeus* over the head of the Lord; but here the legends seem to be borrowed from the Gospel of John ("Behold thy mother," etc.), and are not designed especially for the assistance of the person studying the carving, where the figures did not, in fact, need any elucidation.

[1] In the *Collectanea* of Ps.-Bede, we have the name of the rich man given as Tantalus, but this is an obvious loan from the Pagan mythology, due to the fact that the rich man desired a drop of water to drink, and could not obtain it.

tian should demur to such a description of them. It is confessed that the Old Testament is the flower of the ancient Hebrew literature. Why should we suppose that the later oracles of God would be differently ordered? Why should an artistic and forcible presentation of the gracious words and majestic works of the Christ be deemed incompatible with accuracy and truthfulness? In any case it is impossible to deny that St. John deliberately arranged his Gospel on an artistic plan. As the Holy Spirit "brought all things to his remembrance," the Evangelist selected seven out of all the signs he had witnessed, and not many more of the discourses he had heard, and arranged them in such wise that as we read the conviction deepens upon us that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." The great drama is complete, prologue, epilogue and all. Moreover the narrative was intended by St. John to be significant in all its details. Not only does he present the miracles of Christ as signs, parables in action, but there is a spiritual meaning, more or less plainly to be seen, in the sequence and collocation of the events recorded. Acted sign and spoken word explain and supplement each other. Nor is this unnatural, and other than what we might expect. Had we but the leisure to study it, the life of every man, as of every nation, is full of spiritual and moral lessons. How much more true is this of "the sinless years that breathed beneath the Syrian blue"! And when we bear in mind the relation in which St. John conceived himself to stand to Jesus, it will be only reasonable to expect to find a spiritual significance in the details of his Gospel, which is not a biography, or even a memoir, but a study of the life of Christ.

I have thought it well to meet at the outset the charge of fancifulness which is often, in modern times, brought against minute Biblical exegesis, especially as applied to the New Testament. It is thought far-fetched and trifling

to see symbolism in numbers and suchlike details. A little consideration will show that this objection involves an anachronism. The question is not, What are legitimate literary methods *now*? but, What was considered, in the first century, by St. John and his contemporaries, to be a commendable and useful method of conveying instruction? All through the ages God speaks to men, through men, "in divers manners." The one truth of God presents itself in different ways to men of different mental training. And it is with the expression of secular knowledge as with that of spiritual knowledge. Walk through any old established library, and note the thousands of volumes that are now only moved from their shelves to be dusted, that now are never read, not always because the statements they contain are untrue or antiquated, but because they are presented in a manner uncongenial or unattractive to the present day reader. "We thank God that we are much better than our fathers." So we boast. Our children, however, will certainly say the same.

The events of the last week of Christ's life on earth occupy, as every one knows, a very large proportion of the Gospel narrative; about one-fourth in the Synoptists, and rather more than a third in the Gospel according to St. John. But St. John alone gives details of another week, a week at the beginning of our Lord's official ministry. On the first day we read of the witness of John the Baptist to the Jews, his repudiation for himself of any higher dignity than that of "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," and his vague indication of the presence of some great one in the midst of his hearers. On the second day the testimony of John assumes a more definite form. He points to Jesus as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," yea, "the Son of God." On the third day John directs the attention of two of his own disciples to Jesus as "the Lamb of God"; they accept the invitation

of the new Rabbi; they come and see, and in turn bear their testimony, "We have found the Messiah." On the fourth day the witness of disciples rises still higher. Philip describes Jesus to Nathanael as "Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write," and from the incredulous, it may be the disillusioned, Nathanael is drawn a confession, which, alike in its cause and in its fervour, resembles that of Thomas, "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God; Thou art King of Israel."

It was a journey of sixty miles from the scene of these successive testimonies to Cana of Galilee. Nothing is told us of the journey. Jesus reached Cana on the third day after His meeting with Nathanael, and there in His first miracle he drew still closer the bonds of discipleship. "He manifested His glory and His disciples believed on Him."

The Gospel according to St. John has lain under the loving and reverent scrutiny of the Church for eighteen hundred years; and it may well seem presumptuous in any one to pretend to offer an original exposition on any part of it. Yet I venture here to suggest that the commentators have not yet perceived all that St. John designed to teach, not only in the sign itself, related in the second chapter, the changing of water into wine, but in the occasion on which it took place—a marriage festivity—and in the note of time so markedly recorded, after an interval of silence, "the third day."

The miracle itself is rightly interpreted by Bishop Westcott as "a true symbol of Christ's whole work"; "the change of the simpler to the richer element" illustrating the effect of the power of God introduced into human society by the Incarnation, whereby the sons of men receive "the right to become children of God."

With this and other lessons drawn from the miracle itself we are familiar. They, all of them, bear on the dealings of the Divine grace with sinful man. They were,

no doubt, the primary lessons which the Worker of the sign Himself intended to suggest to mankind. But there was another lesson which "he that saw and bare record" wished to convey to the Church, a doctrinal lesson concerning the human nature of his Master, and it is to this that I now desire to direct attention.

The question has been asked, Was it the fall of man only that brought about the Incarnation? Would God have become man, if man had not sinned, if an atonement for sin had not been needed? In answer to this it has been maintained that the great and primary purpose of the Incarnation was to effect the union of man with God, a union to which mere human nature, however perfect, could not attain, and that consequently the Incarnation must have taken place whether man had sinned or not. In this point of view the Atonement would be almost an afterthought in the Divine plan. It seems, however, at least, certain that the act by which atonement was made, the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, was also necessary, if one may use the expression, to the consummation of the Incarnation; requisite, that is, to render the Incarnation the mighty force that it is in the regeneration of men of every race in all ages.

As Jesus Himself said, it was by being lifted up that He draws all men unto Him. Of course we must believe that from the moment of His conception there were joined together in the one Person of Christ the two whole and perfect natures of God and man. But until the resurrection the perfection of the humanity of Christ was relative, not absolute. On that third day, after the silent journey, there was a changing of water into wine, and the mystical union or marriage between Christ and His Church was initiated.

The mystery of Christ's holy Incarnation is one that demands reverent and cautious treatment. We are in the

least danger of going wrong if we patiently classify and study the statements of Holy Scripture. It seems plain, then, from the New Testament that the human nature of Christ entered upon a fresh and final stage of development and exaltation on the morning of the resurrection. This final stage or condition St. John describes as the glorification of Jesus. It is no doubt true that during His ministry on earth, moving as a man among men, "Jesus manifested His glory." But a peculiar increase and accession of glory is implied in the twice-repeated phrase, "Jesus was glorified," as descriptive of the issue of the Cross and Passion, the glorious Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord. It is to this that Jesus aspires in those words in the great consecration prayer, "And now, O Father, glorify thou Me with Thine own Self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." Nor is the Gospel according to St. John alone in teaching thus. Many passages of St. Paul's Epistles will readily occur to the mind in which the humiliation of Jesus, the humiliation of a human life, culminating in the humiliation of death, is spoken of as the necessary precondition to the glorification of His sacred humanity.

The effect of this transformation may be thus expressed: Before the resurrection of Christ His humanity had only local relationships to man; after the resurrection, and ever since, those relationships are universal.

This consideration gives a new force to the apostle's words, "Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know Him so no more." This consideration, too, may supply a reasonable ground for the distrust and dislike which many Christians instinctively feel towards some modern investigations in, and discussions on, the words of Christ. In the current number (January, 1900) of the *Contemporary Review*, Dr. James Stalker informs us that

"Study is moving on from the story of Jesus to His mind. What is called on the Continent the self-consciousness of Jesus has, especially of late, been the object of literary activity. The difficulty," Dr. Stalker proceeds to say, "is principally due to the mingling of two elements in Christ's conceptions about Himself and His plan—the one temporary and local, the other universal and eternal."

Dr. Stalker, of course, has nothing but condemnation for "a very active school of young theologians on the Continent who emphasize the Messianic, that is, the temporary and local, element of the consciousness of Jesus." But none the less he himself anticipates approvingly "an exhibition of the mind of Christ deduced scientifically from His words, from all His words." Now surely the critical analysis of the mind of Jesus which is here indicated is a very different matter from that devout study of His words and teaching in which Christians of every age have found strength and consolation. This new proposed mental attitude towards the Being whom we regard as a present Providence, an attitude partly antiquarian, partly literary and philosophical, must be instinctively felt by the devout Christian to be strangely irreverent, by the reflecting Christian to be impossible.

Our Gospels contain but fragmentary and meagre records of the words of Christ. And even supposing that we could be sure that they were fully representative of His teaching, that a fifth evangelist could have told us no more, there still remain these questions to be answered, Did Jesus on every occasion manifest His Divine glory in His words any more than He did in His actions? Again, How far did He consciously and deliberately accommodate His language to the then existing state of knowledge? I do not pretend to say that these questions are altogether incapable of solution; but I do say that, so far as they can be answered, "they are spiritually discerned." They do not belong to the order of things with which mere human science, unaided by Divine grace, is competent to deal.

Moreover, supposing we were to assume that the recorded words of Christ represented even His human thought before the Ascension, could we be sure that they would be an adequate presentation of His human consciousness now? Our God is a living God. Is it not true to say that Christ would not be less to us than He is, even if no words of His had ever been recorded, if we only knew the facts about Him that are stated in the Nicene Creed? For though it be true that He "has words of eternal life," yet it is not by His words that He saves us, but by the silent communication of His supernatural grace. To quote Dr. Stalker once more:

"The reason why the generations of the saints have loved and worshipped Jesus has not been because He has left them a tender and glorious memory, but because He has done to one and all of them, each in his own day, an infinite personal service. No conception of Christ is adequate which does not recognise, in addition to what He was and did in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago, what He is and what He is doing at the present hour."

The exaltation of Christ's humanity, effected by His resurrection on the third day, consisted, as has been said, in the development of its relation to the entire human race. And St. John, as I venture to think, intended that this should be suggested symbolically by the marriage and the changing of water into wine, both on the third day.

Every reader of the Bible knows that in the Old Testament the relation between Jehovah and Israel is most commonly spoken of in terms borrowed from the relation of husband and wife. This is too well known to need illustration. In the New Testament the same figure is transferred, or rather, I should say, continued to express the relation between Christ and His Church. John the Baptist, Jesus Himself in His parables, St. Paul, St. John in the Revelation, all use the same metaphor. It is all the more striking when we connect the strong emphasis laid by

St. Paul on the unity involved in the marriage relation, with his equally forcible language as to the unity of nature between Christ and those who have been by baptism made members of His body.

Again, the exaltation of the human nature of Christ necessarily involves the exaltation of those who are brought into union with Him. And accordingly His resurrection is constantly spoken of as the instrumental cause of the regeneration of each individual, as that which gives to Christian baptism its efficacy, as, for example, in the words of St. Paul to the Colossians, "Having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God who raised Him from the dead." Alas, as we look around us, and still more when we look within our own hearts, sad misgivings arise as to the reality of all this. We must remember, however, in the first place, that it is possible that these misgivings may be, in some cases, prompted by the enemy of God. In fact they too often drive men from God. "God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things." And finally, let us keep before us the fact that in God's dealings with the soul of man "He calleth the things that are not as though they were." Men are lost by thinking meanly of themselves, and hence God always sets before us the ideal at which we are to aim as having been already potentially accomplished. Thus only can men "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things." We need not despair, and disbelieve that the water of our faulty lives has been transmuted into the wine of the kingdom of God, when we consider that the same misgivings might, so far as present human appearances are concerned, arise in the heart of the Lord Himself, with regard to the accomplishment of His kingdom.

"All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth." "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the

world." "The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." Is it really so? We may at least reply, There is no hope for the man who does not act in the faith that it is.

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

II. THE WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA AND THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON (*continued*).

THE last parallel to be noticed is between Isaiah lvi. 4, 5 and Wisdom iii. 14. In Isaiah the eunuchs are mentioned together with the strangers; neither are to despair, since the former, if they keep the Sabbath, etc., shall be given a monument in God's house that is better than sons or daughters, while the strangers will form an integral part of God's people. In Wisdom the eunuchs are mentioned after the *virgins*, which is assuredly the more natural context for them. On the whole the mention of the eunuchs in Isaiah is most naturally explained as follows: In verse 2, "Keeping his hand from doing any evil," which comes in the context of the prophecy, reminds the prophet of Wisdom iii. 14, where this phrase is used of the eunuch. Hence the prophet, in verses 3–5, repeats and enlarges the promise made to them in Wisdom. Even here there seems to be the same relation between the two books that has several times been noticed: there is a steady flame in Wisdom, flashes in Isaiah. "The eunuch who does no wrong and thinks no wrong shall be well rewarded for his faith, and given a fair allotment in God's temple; for good deeds bear famous fruit, and the root of Wisdom is imperishable." Isaiah seems to take the temple literally; but how in that material temple can the eunuch have a monument that is better than sons or daughters? Wisdom clearly thinks of

the House of God not made with hands—the community of righteous souls.

If, then, it has been shown that Isaiah made use of the Wisdom of Solomon, what inference are we to draw? It makes no difference whether we regard the chapters quoted as the work of one writer or of a series, all earlier than the return from the Exile: in either case there will be a strong probability that the work which ascribes itself to Solomon is really Solomon's. There would be little likelihood of such a work being fabricated between the age of Solomon and that of Hezekiah.

For in the first place this book is either genuine or else a deliberate fabrication. It is not a work which from its philosophical character would be uncritically attributed to Solomon by those to whom the name and date of the real author were unknown. On the contrary, the writer claims to be Solomon. He tells us some facts about his own life, of his natural abilities, of his succeeding to his father's throne, of the command given him to build the Temple, of his scientific pursuits.

If we submit the work to some of the tests suggested above, it will not be found wanting. The author addresses the right audience—one of kings and judges of the earth. It is the audience to which the second Psalm is addressed. The language, owing to the paraphrastic nature of the translation which we have, cannot be restored in sufficient quantity to enable us to pass judgment on its character; but it is evidently in the style of the Prophets, *i.e.*, unmetrical, but with a fairly regular observance of the antithesis. Finally, the author makes a statement about the treatment of Israel as compared with that of other nations, which, while exceedingly suitable for the time of Solomon, would be surprising in the mouth of any serious thinker who had witnessed or lived after the first exile. Israel, he says, is subjected by God to paternal discipline, but other

nations are scourged ten thousand times as much![1] Now we know that the author of Psalm lxxxix. *quotes* this doctrine, but finds it impossible to reconcile the facts with it; he offers up the same prayer for the renewal of God's wonders as is offered up by Ben-Sira some decades before the appearance of Judas Maccabæus. This sentence, therefore, reveals a period of high prosperity, in which the Israelites could look back with satisfaction on the discipline which they had undergone and from which they thought they had issued triumphantly.

But supposing it to be a fabrication, what purpose had the fabricator? Certainly not to prove to the Greeks that their philosophy had been anticipated by the Hebrew sage: for, as we have seen, the arguments by which this book is shown to have been originally in Hebrew cannot be eluded. The *translator* may well have had that object; and for that he probably not only omitted the proper names, but introduced the very decided Platonism which arouses so much suspicion:[2] for that Solomon and Plato did not arrive independently at the fourfold division of virtue may be granted, and also that Plato did not borrow it from Solomon. The suspicion, however, that that passage has been tampered with by the translator is confirmed by the fact that some confusion appears in the Greek, and that the old Syriac version exhibits a threefold instead of a fourfold division. Moreover an *author* whose purpose was to impress the Greeks with the idea that Solomon anticipated Plato would not produce a Midrashic commentary on portions of the Pentateuch, with which a Greek audience would probably be quite unfamiliar. A Midrashic commentary must certainly have been intended for believing Israelites; and a fabricator who wrote for their benefit would probably have personated Solomon earlier than chapter vii., where he first begins to speak of himself. Further, the very high

[1] Wisdom xii. 22. [2] Wisdom viii. 7.

merit of most of the book makes us look for the author among men of renown. Solomon's reputation for Wisdom must have been based on something: for he is by no means a mythical personage, but one on whom history sheds a strong light. In the continuous thinking, the lofty conceptions, and the poetical images of this book, as well as the scientific interest which it displays, we have a full justification for the opinion of antiquity.

But how comes it that the very memory of the work has disappeared among the Jews? In the time of Melito [1] they clearly had lost it, for the Jewish informant of this writer identified Proverbs with Wisdom—a fact which seems to imply that the title had been preserved, though the book was lost, whence it was ignorantly transferred to a book with a different title; and of this phenomenon literary history offers a variety of illustrations. Yet of course the title "Wisdom" may have been learned from Greek-speaking Jews or Christians, and the utilization of the book in the New Testament by no means implies that its original still existed in Palestine.

Fragments of it were indeed retained in the traditional interpretation of the Pentateuch; one striking case was noticed in the first article; attention may here be called to some more. The statement in xvi. 21 that the Manna, to gratify the desire of the taster, turned to whatsoever he wanted, is repeated in the Midrash (*Rabbah*, ii. 36*a*).[2] "The Manna," it says, "contained every sort of taste, and each Israelite tasted whatsoever he wished." But the author of Wisdom apparently asserts this on his own authority, for he gives it as a justification of his description of the Manna as "adequate to every pleasure and suited to every taste." It must therefore have drifted from Wisdom into the Midrash, certainly before the Book of Wisdom was appropriated by Christians. The comparison of the dark-

[1] Ap. Cureton, *Spicilegium*, p. 35. [2] Also B. *Yoma*, 75*a*.

ness of Egypt to a prison is also found in the Midrash (*Tanchuma*, i. 79*b*). From the account of the darkness given in the Midrash some light can be thrown on Wisdom xviii. 1, 2. "But thy holy ones had very great light, whose voice they hearing, but seeing not their form, that the others too had suffered, accounted blessed, but that having been injured they did no harm, rejoiced." Truly an involved sentence, wherein the translator's determination to omit all proper names, especially that of Egypt, has led him to talk in enigmas. Who were the others who had suffered (or "not suffered," if that be the right reading)? It is probable (though not certain) that all this is to be explained from the Midrash. "There were," says the Midrash *Rabbah*, "certain sinners in Israel, who were unwilling to leave Egypt. God said, If I bring a plague on them openly and they die, the Egyptians will say, The same things happen to Israel as to us. Therefore He brought three days' darkness upon the Egyptians, that the Israelites might bury their dead without being seen by the Egyptians, and might praise God on that account." The Midrash *Tanchuma* tells the same story, adding (i. 84*b*), "Israel gave thanks and rejoiced, because their enemies did not see their punishment and rejoice thereat." From this we can interpret the passage in Wisdom. The Egyptians could hear the voices, though they could not see the forms of the Israelites; the suffering of the Israelites which the Egyptians accounted blessed was the loss of certain members of the Israelite community, who were buried while the Egyptians being in darkness could not see. The remaining clause, "rejoiced that having been injured they did no harm," appears from the Midrash to mean that the Egyptians were thankful that the Israelites who could have taken advantage of the darkness to rob them, did not do so; and in consequence of this proof of Israelitish honesty they were willing to lend them vessels of gold, etc. The

sentence which follows in Wisdom is so obscure as to be untranslatable. We can just see that the Hebrew word for "lent" has been mistranslated "besought"; but it is scarcely possible to restore the rest of it, though the sense must be that supplied by the Midrash.

Let us, before basing any inference on so paradoxical a result as the genuineness of the Wisdom of Solomon, recapitulate the arguments whereby it has been reached: we shall then be able to see whether it is likely to hold its own against opposition, or to collapse so soon as it is assailed. First, it was shown to be a translation from Hebrew (*a*) by the fact that the true form of one of its verses is preserved in the Hebrew of the Midrash; (*b*) by the fact that in several cases by retranslating passages of Wisdom into Hebrew we obtain a better sense than the Greek offers; (*c*) by the fact that other passages of the Midrash which preserve matter contained in the Wisdom of Solomon do not appear to be based on the Greek, but on an original which gave either the same or a better sense.

Next we notice that Ben-Sira mentions this work among the Solomonic writings, and utilizes it for his anthology just as he utilizes the canonical Scriptures. Hence the work must have been classical by 200 B.C.

Next we find that the Greek translation of Wisdom was utilized by the LXX. translator of Isaiah, who is shown to have done his work before 265 B.C. The Greek translation of Wisdom is therefore not later than 270 B.C., and the original probably some generations earlier.

Next we compare a number of texts of Wisdom with a number of similar passages in Isaiah. In each case the phrase which is common to the two books appears to belong to the context of Wisdom rather than to that of Isaiah, and to be more specially appropriate in Wisdom, whereas in Isaiah it can most easily be understood as an allusion to

the work of the earlier classic. In one case the prophetic terminology which is already familiar to Isaiah appears in Wisdom to be in course of formation.

Then we notice that the nature of the audience addressed, the style of composition, and the historical background, all agree with the theory of Solomonic authorship; and to these may be added the general excellence of the work, and still more the grasp which it displays of the most important of the prophetic messages—the mission of Israel, the passion of the Messiah, and the hope of immortality.

Whatever in this book appears to be distinctly Greek may without audacity be attributed to the Greek translator, whom, from the fragment in the Midrash, we know to have treated his original with great licence.

In the chapter on the Bible of the Jews an attempt will be made to explain the nature of decanonization and its consequences for the book decanonized; and the question will be asked whether, if Job had been decanonized and in consequence preserved only in the Greek translation, we should have known more about it than we know about the Wisdom of Solomon.

The importance of this result is that it overthrows the modern criticism of the Pentateuch completely. For that the Pentateuch known to the author of Wisdom was practically the same as our Pentateuch does not admit of question. The moderns assert that the Tabernacle was an imitation of Solomon's Temple; but if Solomon himself states that his Temple was an imitation of the Tabernacle, this theory must be dismissed. If, therefore, the criteria whereby documents are separated in the Pentateuch have any scientific value, it must be very different from that which is ordinarily assigned them; and indeed it may be doubted whether our critical instruments are sufficiently powerful to analyse documents of such remote antiquity in

a language with which recent events have proved us to be so imperfectly acquainted.

The theory of Winckler, according to which the history of the Pentateuch is a fiction invented by David, is of course not overthrown by the fact of Solomon having commented on it, but it would require some very powerful evidence to make us believe that David's fiction could in so short a time have obtained such circulation and recognition.

That our Book of Genesis was known to Solomon may be inferred from the Song of Songs vii. 11, where the bride says, "Unto him is my desire," with an obvious reference to the familiar words said to Eve after the fall. But Wisdom without question contains references not only to Genesis, but to Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, with whose work its history stops, whereas Isaiah is already familiar with the history of the Judges.

D. S. Margoliouth.

CHRIST AND HUMAN EMOTIONS.

That our Lord shared with men every true and pure emotion is a fact which no instructed Christian could deny. To deny it would be to rob Christ of the perfection of His manhood.

Thus we know that He felt "joy," and that of a radiant character, upon the return of the seventy.[1] It filled His inmost being, and found its natural expression in praise to the Father. Nor does the triumphal entry into Jerusalem exhaust the instances in which the Man of Sorrows must have rejoiced in heart. It was a "joy" at once peculiarly His own, and yet capable of passing out from Himself to the enrichment of His disciples.[2] Again, He felt, as none of the sons of men could fully feel, "compassion." All

[1] St. Luke x. 21 (ἠγαλλιάσατο). [2] St. John xv. 11.

but two of His miracles were prompted by this most tender of the emotions. The hospital of His divine pity was open wide to every sufferer. The distant claim of the centurion's servant was treated with the same graciousness as the case of His own Apostle's wife's mother. So far we are on sure ground; but one need not be a psychologist in order to see clearly that there are other emotions which belong to our human nature, but which are not of this high and winning type. To be possessed by them, and, indeed, to express them, may be right and entirely justifiable. But it is seen that they require watching in the interest of the character of the individual. Their source and spring may be now false, now bitter. It is observed that if these emotions must be felt, they are often better unexpressed. Moral philosophy, ancient and modern, has deprecated such emotions as destruction of the mental equilibrium. The way of the Christian faith is not sternly to crush them, but to purify and consecrate them, so that every feeling and each transient emotion shall serve a true purpose, and that purpose will be manifested in their right expression.

What then of such feelings as fear, anger, sorrow, anxiety? There is no bright light about these emotions; they are easily poisoned at the root; they pass by quick or slow transition into unbecoming, and even wild, expression; so fear passes into cowardice, anger into passion, sorrow into melancholy, anxiety into pessimism, and vexation into distrust and spite.

The Christian perceives at once the necessity of guarding such "first springs of thought and will." But he will not, if he could, banish them clear from the sphere of his personality. He will not because his Master, in all reverence be it said, did not do so.

It will be seen that our Lord not only permitted Himself these emotions, sharing them fully with men, but allowed them natural expression. The materials in the Gospel

narrative seem scanty enough for forming such a conclusion, but they are not inadequate, and it is the object of this paper to show that such a conclusion as to His perfect example is right and suggestive for the religious life of His followers. Taking, then, the emotions in the order above indicated, it may be first asked, Did Christ ever feel fear? If the answer be rightly in the affirmative, it will require to be protected from any misunderstanding. He never could have showed physical fear. To think of this as a factor present in the agony of Gethsemane is to misinterpret utterly not only that narrative, but the subsequent mystery of the Passion. A hostile but unintelligent criticism has indeed sought to fasten a charge of cowardice upon Christ in two instances, the one at Nazareth,[1] when His foes in their fury would have cast Him headlong over the brow of the hillside whereon the little city was built; the other at Jerusalem, during the feast of the dedication,[2] when, not for the first time, the citizens were ready to deal with Him as they dealt later with the protomartyr. Whether Christ's escape in these instances was supranatural or not, it is plain that He was prompted by an instinct of self-preservation. But both events, it must be noted, occurred early in His ministry. At such a period self-preservation was a first law of His divine and human nature. The fall of a general in a battle may be a very splendid or a very foolish thing; it is the latter when a life necessary to the successful issue of a campaign is prematurely and recklessly sacrificed. It is a sufficient answer to the charge of moral cowardice to say, in the Master's phrase, "His hour was not yet come." When it came,[3] He was ready, calm, courageous, even eager. But let any one read the whole passage in St. Luke x. 22 39, with an imagination which need not be indevout because it is lively,

[1] St. Luke iv. 29. [2] t. John x. 39.
[3] St. Luke xxii. 5

of the scene with the Saviour girt by the circle of His persecutors with uplifted stones in their hands, alternately drawing closer and then sullenly receding, and hear His fearless words, and he will find there not only no cowardice, but the instance perhaps of the most dauntless courage ever exhibited in Christ's earthly life.

Again, courage at its best and highest is not merely contagious; it is inspiring, communicable. Our Lord had about Him, as an inner group, a little company of twelve timid, shrinking men. The chief of these, as his career and his letters (if one may be permitted to use the plural number) show, was also the greatest coward. Christ had constantly to appeal to this body to be strong and of a good courage, and He based that appeal upon nothing else than Himself. The Ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε[1] reads like a formula of frequent service for cheering faint and timorous hearts. Was there, then, no fear at all which Christ could possibly share with His own? The reply must surely be that He felt fear. Light is thrown upon an issue which is mysterious by our Lord's words to His disciples, in which He discriminates between fear true and false, between fear which must be felt and fear which may not be felt.

"Be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.[2] Here, for all time, is the reprobation of physical fear, of mere cowardice in Christians; here, too, is the commendation of a right fear, "the fear of God" in the Old Testament sense, which flies from evil suggestion, which shrinks from dishonouring Him, a fear which is the realization both of the holiness and power of the Supreme Being. If there is one passage in the Lord's life more than another where we may in all reverence associate such fear with His Person, it would be the occasion of His temptation in the wilderness.

[1] St. Matt. xiv. 27. [2] St. Matt. x. 28.

Fear is an essential factor in any real temptation. Of physical fear during that time our Lord knew nothing: the interesting Marcan addition to the narrative, *ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων*,[1] point conclusively to this; but that He felt a godly fear during the awful contest seems plain, though this was cast out, in the issue, by the triumph of a perfect love.[2]

Next for consideration comes the feeling of anger. Moral philosophy had made its pronouncements upon this issue long before Christ taught, or the Apostles re-echoed, His teaching. Anger was regrettable, as being disturbing in character and in consequences, but it was often inevitable and right, and in the last resort it was better to be passionate than to lack spirit. So Plato and Aristotle, as every scholar knows, so later Cicero, so our own Bacon. Nor can it be too often emphasized that Christian teaching takes up every real and permanent truth of moral philosophy, and in doing so ever transmutes and purifies it.

It is a mere truism that a man who neither feels nor expresses indignation at moral wrong is himself immoral. Anger of this sort is not a "furor brevis"; it is sane and permanent, blazing out at every proper occasion when cruelty, lust, or oppression are rampant and tyrannous. It is not too much to say that whenever such anger finds expression, men share in that which is a Divine attribute, the "wrath of God" revealed against wilful evil. St. Paul, in his adaptation of the phraseology of Psalm iv.,[3] illuminates the situation for Christians in his "Be ye angry and sin not," for he would show that there is no necessary link between *ὀργή* and *ἁμαρτία*.

That our Lord must have felt the "nobler anger" often during His ministry is patent from the Gospel narrative. Wherever He went He seems to have been pursued by a compact, dark, sinister group, mostly of Pharisees, but

[1] St. Mark i. 13. [2] 1 St. John iv. 18. [3] Ephes. iv. 26.

sometimes in strange combination with Sadducees, and even with Herodians. It is simply inconceivable that any mere man should not have now and again hurled back against them some passionate word. Yet only once in the Gospels does it stand on record that He was angry, and even then it was not anger at his personal foes, but anger at their spirit, at falseness to their trust as teachers and leaders of the national conscience and life. The incident is appropriately narrated by that "honest chronicler," St. Mark.[1]

"Healing," said these foes, "on the Sabbath day was work, and work must not be done." There was anger in the Lord's glance around and upon them, but its spring was a holy grief at the spectacle of hearts as hard as stone, untouched by love, embittered by the very thought of a manifested goodness.

Nor indeed was Christ's deep displeasure reserved only for such implacable and crafty foes. St. Peter was made to feel it, it may be on more than one occasion, but the most notable one finds record in all the Synoptists. There was a righteous anger in the rebuke, "Get thee behind Me, Satan,"[2] the awfulness of which is perhaps lost in its familiarity, and the cause and reasonableness of it are at once made known to the Apostle. Christ must denounce unsparingly the worldly spirit in one from whom better things might have been expected.

And in one striking instance[3] His displeasure fell not upon a single disciple, but upon the whole body. The picture of the Saviour taking the little children to His embrace and giving them His fervent blessing has its obverse in His indignant remonstrance to the disciples. The verb in the fuller Marcan account, which describes Christ's attitude to them on the occasion, viz., ἀγανακτεῖν, is neither adequately rendered by the A.V. "much dis-

[1] St. Mark iii. 5. [2] St. Matt. xvi. 23. [3] St. Mark x. 14.

pleased," nor by the R.V. "moved with indignation." Both classical usage and its employment elsewhere in the narrative of the Gospels[1] show that here too a deep resentment was felt by our Lord at the idea of shutting out little children from His kingdom; and what He felt He surely expressed by look as well as word.

Of all the emotions, sorrow, both in its sense and expression, might, on the face of it, have seemed to be the most dominant in our Lord's instance. Somewhat, then, with a sense of surprise the student marks that this feeling is nowhere directly attributed to Christ. With the solitary and awful exception of Gethsemane, it is not once ascribed to Him.

Thus, indeed, it is with the sorrows of the stronger among mortal men. They reserve sorrow for privacy. With Bacon they perceive the fitness of "joy for company"; but personal griefs, if felt they must be, will be by them expressed in secret. So it was with the one Perfect Man. It is quite possible that the Church, through the medium both of Christian art and Christian literature, has exaggerated the portrait of the Man of Sorrows. True, that upon Him, according to the evangelical prophet, the Lord hath made to light the iniquity of us all, and therefore the burden of His sorrow was unique—ineffable; yet, according to the Gospel narrative, its expression was rare, and as none could share His sorrow, He obtruded it on none. But whenever the grief was one which He could share with His own, and sharing lighten it, then He permitted sorrow to find its natural expression. Thus a cry as of pain[2] broke from Him as from the slopes of Olivet He gazed downwards upon the doomed city. So at the grave of Lazarus the tears fell[3] that were expected of Him, and He wept whose tender message to other mourners

[1] *e.g.*, St. Mark xx. 24. [2] St. Luke xix. 41 (ἔκλαυσεν).
[3] St. John xi. 35.

was ever, "Weep not." It is, however, in connection with this passage in the fourth Gospel that the student lights upon a word suggesting rather the expression of an emotion than an emotion itself. The verb ἐμβριμᾶσθαι, which occurs twice [1] in the section, is a crux both for philologist and translator. If the usual derivation is to be trusted, then the expression of the underlying emotion, which is plainly one of indignation, grief, or vexation, is to be sought rather in voice than in look; but as these are never inharmonious in any emotion, so it may be supposed that both voice and look told upon those who heard and saw Him on the occasion. The verb, not uncommon in classical Greek, is only used thrice elsewhere in the New Testament [2] of our Lord, and in either case of His stern charge that the gratitude of those whom He had healed should not result in making Him known before the time. The remarkable variety of renderings of the verb, both in versions and by commentators, show how baffling it is in exact interpretation. All that may be safely concluded is that the word indicates a blended consequence of two emotions, and that when it is applied to Christ, it pictures Him as looking and speaking "more in sorrow than in anger."

If tears are the natural expression of sorrow, sighing may be taken as the symbol betokening an anxious heart. We sigh when doubt and fear meet in the breast; we sigh not only at a present disappointment, but in the forecast of one. Twice is it recorded that our Lord sighed, and some one must have been very close to Him at the time with eye and ear observant. It is therefore significant that on both occasions we are indebted to St. Mark's pen for the account. A deep sigh [3] escaped our Lord when, after and in spite of the "Miracle of the Four Thousand," the

[1] St. John xi. 33, 38. [2] St. Matt. ix. 30 and St. Mark xiv. 5.
[3] St. Mark viii. 12.

Pharisees sought of Him a sign from heaven. Such a sigh is not difficult of interpretation. His tempters were unworthy alike of His confidence or His love. Their unbelief would make any sign meaningless; but while there was indignation in His hurried departure,[1] His spirit was filled with a sense akin to despair for such a temper, and those who saw and heard Him knew that He sighed.

The other occasion when Christ is said to have sighed is of singular interest. It was when[2] He was about to heal the deaf and dumb man of Decapolis. Something then and there touched our Lord which was too deep for tears. Why did He sigh? According to most commentators, patristic and modern, it was due to the unbelief shown either by the witnesses of the miracle or by the sufferer himself. The interpretation, if not faulty, is inadequate. It is surely preferable to explain the sigh here also as expressive of disappointment, not so much at the present as in regard to the future. What was our Lord about to do? He would restore to this sufferer two senses of hearing and seeing, either lost or imperfect. No wonder, therefore, if Christ sighed, who knew how men abused these gifts, and who knew, as men know not, the awful responsibility of their exercise. So before the mysterious word of power was uttered He lifted His face heavenward, and He could not but breathe a sigh.

This inquiry into the Gospel narrative shows therefore the fulness and completeness with which Christ shared human emotions. As has been seen, it is natural to link with His sacred Person all those feelings which, as we are possessed by them, or exhibit them, seem to make the passages of life brighter and purer. But the issue is whether He also participated in those feelings which in men so often spring from some unworthy source—which

[1] St. Mark viii. 13. [2] St. Mark vii. 34.

are sombre in character, and in expression are disquieting, vexatious, and disturbing.

From what has been collected from the Gospel narrative, it is concluded that He shared these also. But in Him they never could spring but from a pure source. The fear He felt was not cowardice, but a holy instinct in and through which real temptation was triumphantly met. The anger which He displayed was a deep displeasure now felt against wilful, moral evil, now against deliberate hindrances to the good. The sorrow which He must so often have "dressed in smiles" sprang from the thought of His own awful task as the Saviour of a sinful world. The anxiety which wrung His heart was due to the oppositions or unbelief of those whom He was come down to deliver.

And as He is man's pattern in the possession of such emotions, so He remains a perfect example in their expression. He realized in Himself that *αὐτάρκεια*, to which moral philosophy, past and present, vainly points as the ideal for the individual. These graver and distressful feelings were with Him not only under completest control, but were guided and manifested for the advantage and blessing of others. None ever saw Him angry, or sad, or vexed without finding, if they would, some deeper sense of the sinfulness of sin or some fresh token of the wealth of His love.

In some quarters of Christendom it is fondly imagined that men may grow in grace by contemplation of the picture of some saint. Here is a Portrait which they may more wisely adore, and, as they worship, gain ever fresh strength from One who is not only their pattern, but the hope and stay of the human race.

B. WHITEFOORD.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

XII. Relation of the Corinthian Church to the Crime.

The view stated in § XI., that the crime was a proof of failure to rise above the level of Corinthian Pagan society, and not of declension from the Greek standard, is entirely confirmed by Paul's language in the sequel. It is plain that, in the letter which the Corinthian Church had sent to Paul, the crime was not mentioned.

The Corinthian officials[1] had written to Paul a report of their present condition and prospects. So far were they from feeling any humiliation at the crime and any righteous anger at the criminal (such as Paul considered proper in the circumstances), that the report was full of self-gratulation. They felt how much they had gained by their conversion, how they had advanced in knowledge, in insight, in sympathy with divine things. They were full of hope, and joy, and confidence, and prosperity. They were "puffed up" (v. 2)[2] and full of "glorying" (v. 6).

The former of these two words is often in Paul's mouth during this letter: elsewhere he only once uses it (*Col.* ii. 18). The second word and its derivatives express the idea that is most typical in both 1 and 2 *Corinthians*.[3] The tone of Paul's mind, as he addresses the Corinthians, is greatly determined by their attitude. As he faces them, the thought suggested to him is of persons rather presumptuously and dangerously self-confident and boastful; and he is continually talking of the false and the true grounds for glorying.

[1] See § xiii. [2] *Φυσιοῦμαι*, iv. 6, 18, 19; v. 2; viii. 1; xiii. 4.

[3] *καύχημα, καυχάομαι, καύχησις*, 34 times in *Corinthians*; 16 times in all the rest of the Pauline Epistles.

The Corinthians boasted of their prosperity, primarily of their spiritual prosperity, but also of their worldly success: the hand of God was with them, and aided their enterprises. The paragraph, iv. 6–13, and the references to their wealth, both the true and the false wealth,[1] show this clearly.

It is impossible to suppose that the Corinthian officials suppressed all reference to the crime from desire to conceal their own faults. That is not compatible with other evidence of their character and conduct. It is plain that they had no idea that there was any crime. Had the act been one which was beneath the standard of surrounding Pagan society, the Church must have felt that there was something about it requiring defence, and they would not fail to speak of it, to explain it, to justify it. But their silence shows that they were quite unconscious of anything wrong about it. Their moral judgment remained, in this respect, on its old level, having neither seriously risen nor fallen. It is their callousness, their utter insensibility, that Paul rebukes.

It appears from iv. 18 that one cause for the Corinthian self-gratulation was that Paul was not going to visit them a second time: "some are puffed up, as though I were not coming." This can only mean that a message had been sent, or an impression conveyed to them, that a visit from Paul was not needed—that the Corinthians were doing well, and could go on without a visit to confirm and strengthen them. We have already observed[2] that the repeated mention in Acts of visiting and thorough confirmation of the Galatian Churches implies the strong need there was for strengthening those Churches; and, conversely, Paul seems to have so put his previous letter,[3] stating that he was not at present intending to visit Corinth,

[1] See the quotations and remarks in the Expositor, Feb., p. 94.

[2] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, p. 403 f. [3] v. 9, a lost letter.

that this was felt to be a compliment to the strength of that Church. We get the distinct impression that during his first two years' residence at Ephesus Paul had been receiving very good news from Corinth, but that at last bad news came to him and immediately called forth the Epistle which we are studying. Timothy was already going to them by way of Macedonia; a letter also was now sent to them by special messenger;[1] and Paul himself was coming, iv. 19.

It may be observed that this is the same procedure which, as we saw reason to understand, occurred in the case of the Galatian Churches. Bad news came from them: Paul at once sent on a letter by a speedy messenger, and himself followed at a short interval. In the Galatian letter he did not so clearly intimate his intention of coming; but his expressed wish that he were now among them (*Gal.* iv. 20) was supplemented by a verbal message.

XIII. Source of Paul's Knowledge of the Crime.

In studying the difficult questions that arise in connexion with the crime, we ask how and where he got his information about it.

As was stated in the preceding section, he did not get his knowledge from the letter of the Corinthian Church; but he does not state who informed him. It is clearly shown in the Epistle which we are studying that Paul derived information from at least three different sources; and the share of the different sources is marked out with unusual distinctness. Hence this Epistle is specially valuable as a study in regard to Paul's sources of information, and his way of using them and referring to them. The situation is more clearly put in this Epistle than in any other; but

[1] On the messenger, see § XVI.

much that we see in it may be taken as applying to the others. Paul's sources here were three.

1. Information from third parties, travellers who were coming and going. These may without doubt be understood to be Christians: Paul was not likely to discuss with Pagans the conduct of his own "children." In the constant lively intercourse that was going on between Ephesus and Corinth—two neighbouring stations on the great route between East and West—he must have had many opportunities of acquiring information in this way. In some other cases he would not be likely to have such frequent opportunities. There would be far less intercourse between Corinth and Philippi than between Corinth and Ephesus. But travelling was wonderfully common, easy, and certain at that period. Until a very recent time there has never again been in Europe anything comparable to the means and frequency of travel under the Roman Empire.

To this class belonged the representatives of Chloe, i. 9.

2. Paul had received from the Church at Corinth an official letter, reporting good progress and success, asking his advice on various practical questions, stating the opinions held in the Church, and urging certain arguments. We shall find frequent references made to this letter, and quotations from it; for Paul often quotes Corinthian opinion before he corrects or completes it. His advice often must be regarded in the light of their opinions and arguments, before we can properly understand it. He did not require to advise them to do what they were already doing rightly. He directs his advice towards the subjects in which they have to be corrected. Unless this is borne in mind, his advice would sometimes appear one-sided.

A single letter taken apart from a continued correspondence must always be difficult to comprehend. The receivers are on the outlook for a reply to their questions and arguments. They catch the retort which depends for its effect

on their own previous statement. Much in Paul's Epistle is obscure for that reason; and we must always be on the outlook for any hint as to the character of the letter which the Corinthians had sent him.

We shall be ready to suspect quotation—in the first place when an idea recurs over and over again without being one that is obviously and characteristically Pauline: such are the allusions to knowledge, to the freedom which knowledge confers to do all things, to wealth, to boasting and being puffed up—and, in the second place, where any statement stands in marked contrast either with the immediate context or with Paul's known views.

The letter from Corinth was brought by three messengers, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who are marked out by their names as probably freedmen and men of business (see § VIII.). It is not necessary to suppose that they were sent for the express and single purpose of carrying the letter. It is much more in keeping with ancient custom that some or all of them were going on business to Ephesus, and were entrusted with the letter. This mission gave them additional honour and importance. The Greek cities often employed such envoys (*πρέσβεις*) to Rome, using their services and so economizing expense: the envoys were rewarded with a public inscription recording their services and with the increased dignity at the time.

We may confidently assume that the letter was composed by the officials of the Church. There was not yet, apparently, a single Episkopos; and the Presbyteroi,[1] or a small committee of their number, would most probably be charged with the duty. The view has been stated elsewhere that the institution of a single Episkopos was due in considerable degree to the importance and necessity of maintaining the unity of the entire Church by constant intercommunication

[1] They are doubtless meant as *κυβερνήσεις* xii. 28, *προιστάμενοι* 1 *Thess.* v. 12 (*ἡγούμενοι* is not Pauline).

between the scattered parts. A letter, in the last resort, is likely to be mainly the composition of one man.

Considering the character and institutions of a Greek city, we need hardly doubt that the letter was finally submitted to the approval of the entire Ekklesia or Church; but this probably was merely for acceptance or rejection, for no amendment or discussion was now permitted in the meetings of the whole body of citizens under the Empire, while the Christian Ekklesia may be assumed to have felt entire confidence in its directors, and to have forthwith endorsed their composition.

3. The envoys who were honoured with the duty of bearing the letter were doubtless charged with many verbal messages, and practically would give a report to Paul of the state of the community. This would be understood by the whole Church at Corinth; and, where Paul mentions any fact which was not in the letter, the Corinthians would naturally presume that Stephanas and the others were his informants, unless he expressly mentioned some third party.

We must, therefore, conclude that the envoys gave Paul the information which called forth the strong language of the fifth chapter. Probably they showed themselves as unconscious of the serious nature of the crime as the other Corinthians were, and exemplified that lowness of moral standard which Paul rebukes.

XIV. The Judgment of Paul.

After censuring strongly the laxness of the Corinthian judgment on the crime (v. 2), Paul contrasts their indifference with his own severe judgment (v. 3–5). This remarkable passage is a striking example of the difficulty that the nineteenth century must sometimes experience in attempting to understand the thoughts of the first century. It plunges the reader into circumstances and ways of thinking which it is hardly possible for him to comprehend: and he is apt

to interpret the passage by reading into it the ideas of a later time. Some serious misconceptions of it can be cleared away; but we may despair of being able ever fully to understand the meaning that it bore either to the writer or to the original readers.

The exact words are so important that they must be quoted in full: the form differs a little from the Revised Version. "For I, at any rate, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as if really present, formed the decision in respect of him that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of the Lord Jesus, you being gathered together and my spirit, in association with the power[1] of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord."

1. This passage must be connected with the preceding verse, not with the following. The particle *μέν*, with which it opens, is not here to be understood as pointing forward to a following *δέ* (understood or expressed): we must take *μὲν γάρ* together and "connect with the last verse."[2] It expresses the contrast between the attitude of the Corinthians and the attitude of Paul towards the crime.

2. This passage has been frequently interpreted as describing a formal judicial decision and sentence passed on the offender in the most solemn and awful fashion. So far as I have observed, that grave and solemn sense is universally taken from the words: they are read as carrying with them excommunication and worse, or even, as some say, a miraculous punishment. The fact that here Paul speaks without consulting the Corinthian officials has even been regarded[3]

[1] To bring out the distinction of *σὺν τῇ δυνάμει* from the usual *ἐν δυνάμει*, which would imply acting "in and with the power of God."

[2] Quoted from Alford's note on 2 *Cor.* ix. 1, where he refers in illustration to the sentence now before us. Compare Meyer-Heinrici "*das μέν solitarium ist zu fassen: ich wenigstens.*

[3] So *e.g.* Wordsworth.

as a proof that they had no power in the matter, but that Paul alone, without their presence or assent, was empowered to judge and decide and condemn the guilty person to the extremest penalty both spiritual and physical, merely intimating to the Church the sentence which he had passed.

Any such view can hardly stand the test of reasonable consideration.

(1) It supposes that Paul judges and condemns on mere hearsay evidence—evidence of whose nature he gives the Church no account—without hearing any defence, without giving the accused party any intimation that he is being tried. Such a parody of justice could be paralleled only by the very worst acts attributed to the Inquisition in its worst period.

(2) The supposed sentence of excommunication, and worse than excommunication, remained a mere *brutum fulmen*, which was never put in effect. The Church in Corinth judged the case, and decided on a much milder sentence, which Paul entirely approved (see § XVI.).

(3) Paul does not here represent himself as pronouncing a formal sentence: he continues his remarks in a tone so different as to constitute an extraordinary anticlimax, if the decision and sentence were already pronounced. He discusses the principles involved in judging such a case (assuming that the Corinthians will judge it). He concludes in v. 13 by quoting from *Deuteronomy* xxiv. 7 the sentence to be pronounced on the man who is found guilty; and the sentence is very much milder than that stated in v. 3–5. But it is merely irrational, and unjust to Paul, to suppose (as some practically do) that he first expresses in violent anger too strong a sentence, and then cools down so far as to demand a much milder punishment a little later.

Alford sees that v. 3–5 does not actually convey a formal sentence, and interprets it as "a delegation to the Corinthian Church of a special power, reserved to the Apostles

themselves, of inflicting corporal punishment or disease as a punishment for sin." But there is no word in v. 3–5 that suggests delegation of Paul's power to others: there is merely a statement of Paul's own opinion.

The clue which must guide us is the grammatical construction. We saw that v. 3–5 is to be connected with v. 2. Paul contrasts the indifference of the Corinthians with his own vehement condemnation, not of *this man*, but of any *such person*, *i.e.* any person guilty of such conduct as has been attributed by rumour to this man. This is not a case for inaction: it is a case for instant action, but action according to the rules of justice and moral principle. The lazy, contented, self-satisfaction of the Corinthians must be sharply checked.

The words "I have judged him" (*κέκρικα*), then, do not imply a legal judgment, but an expression of Paul's opinion on a mere report of the case. It is the first step, as it were, in a legal case: the matter has been reported, so to say, to the *prætor*, and he decides that there is a case, and sends it for investigation before the proper tribunal, stating the severe view which the law takes of such cases, if proved.

3. What exactly does Paul mean, and what did the Corinthians understand him to mean, by the terrible words in which he expresses his opinion? Here I confess my inability to decide. It is a case where the habits and ways of thought in another time and amid another people are peculiarly hard to understand or to sympathize with. But we must try at least to place before ourselves some analogous cases.

The expression "to deliver such a one unto Satan" is also employed by Paul in 1 *Timothy* i. 20 about Hymenæus and Alexander, who had made shipwreck concerning the faith, "whom I delivered unto Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme." But the circumstances there are too obscure to afford any help in the present case.

A path which at least seems promising—though possibly the appearance is only deceptive—is to inquire what meaning the Corinthian readers would attribute to the words. They had been accustomed in their Pagan life to very similar formulæ, in which a person who had been wronged by another and had no other way of retaliating, consigned the criminal to the god, and left the punishment to be inflicted by divine power. These forms played a great part in ancient life, and many examples of them have been preserved to our time. We find divine wrath and punishment thus invoked against thieves, slanderers, poisoners, assassins, an adopted child who had raised his hand against his foster mother, users of false weights, persons who refused to restore money deposited in their care, and so on: even a mere advertisement of lost property was accompanied commonly by a curse consigning to divine punishment any one that found and did not restore the lost article.

In such cases the sufferer, who entrusted his vindication to the divine power, was said to make way for the god as his champion.[1] The god was conceived as a judge, whose power was set in motion by this formal supplication. We know of such actions in two ways—sometimes from the invokers of divine aid, who wrote out and left at the temple a formal statement of their appeal with the reasons for it,[2] and also regularly commemorated by a dedication and inscription the aid that they had received and the punishment inflicted on the wrong-doer—sometimes from the wrong-doer, who, when punished, recognised his fault, and dedi-

[1] παραχωρεῖν τῇ θεῷ: the goddess is often mentioned instead of the god in these inscriptions, but we need not observe the distinction of sex.

[2] This class of invocation passes by insensible steps into the class of magical *devotiones*, consigning one's enemies to the gods of death. The essential difference between these classes is that in one the god is invoked to avenge real injury, in the other to gratify personal spite. That is a real and serious difference, and was recognised in ancient times, the latter class being illicit and secret. Yet it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins.

cated an inscription (accompanied doubtless by a gift), confessing his sin and glorifying and propitiating the divine power which had punished him.[1]

In these invocations, the god was asked or tacitly expected to punish the wrong-doer by bodily disease; fever—in which the strength wastes through the effect of "subterranean fire" without special affection of any part—was regarded as the favourite weapon of the god; but any bodily affliction which came on the accursed person was regarded, alike by the invoker and by the sufferer, as the messenger or weapon of the god.

The Corinthians who read Paul's judgment, v. 3–5, could hardly avoid interpreting it by the analogy of that Pagan custom, which had been familiar to them and doubtless often practised by them until about two or three years ago. Even yet they were not very far removed above the old Pagan level. One must ask the question, Would they not take Paul's judgment as a Christianized form of the Pagan usage? The criminal is handed over to Satan (who, however, is here treated as the instrument in divine hands); and, if there subsequently befell him any bodily suffering, it would be regarded as the divine act to the end that he might repent and learn.

XV. Principles in Judging the Crime.

Paul proceeds to point out two important considerations which must be taken into account by the Corinthian Church in judging this case.

1. "A little leaven leavens the whole lump," as the proverb is. One sin and one sinner, if regarded with indifference, may ruin the whole Corinthian Church. The old leaven of their Pagan ways must be completely cleared

[1] Some account of this interesting class of "confessions" is given in *Expository Times*, Oct., 1898-Jan., 1899—"The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual."

out, and they must devote themselves to Christ, to live His life.

The allusion to leaven, at first a mere figure of speech, leads Paul to work out the figure into an allegory. If sin is the leaven, then Christ is the Unleavened, and the life of Christ is the Unleavened Feast; and we Christians ought to keep the Feast, and live the life, in all perfection and purity (v. 7, 8).

It is unjustifiable to find here an allusion to the season of the year when Paul was writing, as if the celebration of the Passover at the moment suggested to him the comparison of Christ with the unleavened Passover bread. As we see, that comparison is suggested by the proverb which he quoted in v. 6.

Moreover, if Paul had been giving instructions to the Corinthians as to how they should celebrate the Passover, he would have done so beforehand, and not in a letter which could not reach them until the feast was ended. It is probable that Paul did write this epistle in the end of winter or the early days of spring, and that xi. 18–34 and x. 1–11 were written with a view to the coming Passover of the year 56 (Friday, March 19, according to Lewin).[1]

2. Christians must not associate with immoral persons. Such was the instruction given by Paul to the Corinthians in his previous letter; he now explains (evidently in reply to some criticism on their part), that the rule [2] must not be taken in the sense that they should exercise a censorship over their Pagan neighbours (v. 12, 13), and refuse to meet them in society.

[1] The date in the autumn of the preceding year (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 275), is erroneous. The two Epistles were not separated by so long an interval as that dating would require. Paul, when once his attention was directed to the unsatisfactory state of the Corinthian Church, never relaxed his efforts (as we hope to show in discussing the Second Epistle: see also § XVI.).

[2] The rendering of *vv.* 9, 11 in R.V. seems correct. It takes the aorist in 9 as referring to the old letter, and in 11 to the new; but this harshness is mitigated by the context (especially *νῦν*) and the general sense of the passage.

The tone of society and the code of morals in Pagan cities were of so low a standard that, if the Christians carried out that extreme principle, they would have to go out of the world altogether. But it was always part of Paul's teaching that his converts should not retire from the world, but should live their life in the State, and try to conquer the world around them. The Corinthian Church should confine its judgment and censorship to its own members. But within its own bounds it must exercise strict supervision, maintain a high standard of morality and conduct, and expel any unworthy member. Christians must refuse all intercourse with a Christian who has sunk from (or failed to rise to) the necessary standard of Christian morality. They must not even eat in his company: this implies that they are not to invite him or accept his invitation, but not that they are to go away from any society in which he appears (for that is covered by v. 10).

Such are the chief principles involved in judging the crime; and the judging of it is a duty that must be discharged.

XVI. The Result.

It would be interesting to know what was the issue of this case. The references which are made to it in 2 *Corinthians* are too vague to show exactly what occurred, but they throw some light on the progress of the case.

It was, probably, not very long after sending off this letter to Corinth that Paul left Ephesus. He had intended to remain there till Pentecost was past, but the riot of some of the trades connected with the temple forced him to leave prematurely. He was at this time feeling very anxious and despondent about the Corinthians, as he says in the opening of 2 *Corinthians*; and this feeling lasted through his stay at Troas, where he went on leaving Ephesus. He expected to meet Titus in Troas, with news from Corinth;

but in this he was disappointed, and his anxiety drove him on to Macedonia, where he found Titus, and was cheered with a good report.[1]

Titus was able to assure him that the Corinthians had been deeply touched and stirred up by Paul's letter. Their insensibility to the serious nature of the crime had disappeared; they realized its true nature; they were full of sorrow and of repentance; they apologised for their conduct, explaining how they had only failed to see clearly, but had not wilfully erred; they were eager to judge the case and to punish the offender (2 *Cor.* vii. 7–11).

But now a new consideration came in. The offender had been as unconscious of the crime, and as free from deliberate intention to err, as the rest of the Church. He proved this by the profound sorrow and humiliation which he felt. In those circumstances, when the trial was held, the sentence inflicted was not so severe as Paul had indicated. But, clearly, this result was not unanimous; a minority were of opinion that they should implicitly obey Paul, and inflict the full sentence.

This situation was reported by Titus; and Paul replied (2 *Cor.* ii. 6–10) that the punishment inflicted by the majority was sufficient, and a severer one was not required, as suggested by the minority.[2] They should now feel able to forgive and console the offender, lest in his humiliated position he might despair and "be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow."

Paul had regarded this as a case testing whether the Corinthians were obedient (2 *Cor.* ii. 9); *i.e.*, probably, obedient to God rather than obedient to Paul. Now he knew that the Christian idea was raising them gradually to

[1] Titus was making the coasting voyage from Corinth to Troas along the Macedonian shores, and hence Paul could count on meeting him all the sooner if he sailed along the coast in the opposite direction.

[2] This is implied by "contrariwise" and "the more" (marginal reading rightly) in 2 *Cor.* ii. 6–7.

its level. He cordially accepts their decision, and forgives him whom they forgive.

Incidentally we remark that it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that Titus carried to Corinth Paul's letter (1 *Cor.*)[1] and was to bring back an answer and to report on the case. Then, when Paul had to leave Ephesus suddenly, he must have sent a message to Titus bidding him come round by the coasting voyage to Troas. Finally, when his arrival was delayed, Paul went on and met him in Macedonia, perhaps at Neapolis, the harbour of Philippi.

W. M. Ramsay.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

Part III.

"The Blank in the Tent."

(Gen. xxxvii. 29–35.)

The most absolutely interesting track in all this world to follow is that of a good man's life. The Bible leads us often along such tracks, and no book does this so enticingly; but at no point does its spiritual genius beguile us to a finer interest than when it leads us into the life of Joseph. It gives us here a delicate and genial narrative and makes a soft appeal to our heart. It inclines us to love Joseph with an immediate impulse, so chaste and goodly he is!—a streak of true light shining in a little world of wildness and license, where the darkness not only does not comprehend but hates; and it pleasantly entangles us with concern as to the working out of the purpose which was to make him a man. For from the first some higher harmony seems to find and touch the strings of his life and to set them vibrating. He comes before us with a spiritual rhythm in his life, and he is at once intensely interesting.

[1] *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 284.

He has a great belief which corresponds, and attaches him, to unseen realities; he is mobile and swift, but in all his movements he recognises those things that will neither swerve nor shake. He has a subdued enthusiasm for God. He cannot help doing significant things. An inspiration from on high is upon him. His years on earth become one of God's "sundry times," and his life becomes one of God's "divers portions," for by him God spells out to the fathers one or two syllables of His great Word to man.

While this was God's purpose in the actual life of Joseph, the historian biographer in God's Book has inspiration for his work of interpreting and setting it forth. He uses the finest human art; he selects, assorts, and accentuates; his skill is supreme to weave out of the facts an allegory and lesson of human life, and so essential and vital are the ethics of this one life that what is written grows in moral import and truth with the ages. The author writes with the distinctest spiritual consciousness and intention, yet he never halts to preach—to justify or to blame; he unfolds ideas and actions in their relations, showing us these in their power to order or to confuse what is within our own nature, and to keep us in, or to throw us out of, harmony with the Infinite, and in this way he teaches us that peace and punishment are issues to conduct rather than rewards. The sequence and coherence of the moral elements in the tale are so close and compact that it suggests a transcript from God's own recording Book which is sealed until the time of the end; whilst the lustre and shading of its incident and circumstance make it a story of human life on the earth as vivid as we may anywhere read, domestic tenderness and human pathos being as much a part of it as the terrible irony of the situation at times and the tragedy of transgression.

In these verses a new element and influence come into this story to aid in unfolding the life and character of

Joseph before our eyes. In addition to the fixed and unshaken conditions amidst which a human life must find its way in our world, there are also changeful and uncertain elements upon which it bears and by which it is modified. The serious game of life is much affected by the lives around it; other balls on the table are set a-rolling by the impact of the ball we drive, and our own gets a bias and curve from contact with them. On life's lower planes success consists in calculating, adjusting and deciding among chances and hindrances; and, on higher planes, virtue must impinge on villainy: the coward must swerve from the hero, and the true must displace the false. Even planets in their high course feel the power of others, and answer one another as they pass; and there is nutation and occultation amongst them.

> All are needed by each one;
> Nothing is good or fair alone.

The sun in God's heavens has his light accentuated by shadows on the earth; and God's men have the light of their lives brought out by contrast—the evil showing up the good.

So it is conspicuously here. God's lesson in these verses is read out directly from Joseph's life; but He calls us to realize and remember its links and relationships, that we may therein learn the interaction of human lives and be taught the reaction of evil as well as the force of good. We are not to be allowed to forget the brethren who have permitted unkind feelings to grow up into fierce passions in their breast; and we are not to lose sight of them when they slouch away home and pretend to wash their hands clean of Joseph's blood before their father. The Bible diverts our interest from Joseph and presses it back to these ten men of falsehood and wrong. It takes us home with them; it makes us stand and hear what they say; it

bids us look on as they break bad news to an old man. We shall try to read the verses, which tell of all this, in their right tone, setting the facts in their true light and shade and giving each its proportion, as we gather and group them under the heading, "The Blank in the Tent."

The grief of Reuben (verse 29) was unmistakably genuine. It broke upon him in a moment. He was an impulsive creature; easily agitated, easily swayed; no steadiness in him, no grip. His father spoke contemptuously of him, and called him "unstable as water"—first one thing and then another! a shallow nature! all surface and no depth! no stamina in him! Still he saw the sadness of the circumstances and was distressed; and there was remorse in his sorrow, for he had known his duty and had not done it. It would not last long, but it was severe while it lasted. He reproached himself, and said, "The child is not," with a sense of awe that for the moment was like a glimpse of the Furies advancing on his soul. Whether then are we to blame Reuben or to pity him? We blame him with all our heart. Reuben is just a particularly dangerous kind of man. In one aspect he is the faultiest of all the ten. He had a tenderer heart than all the rest and a more wakeful conscience, and he had the voice of the eldest brother, and he felt quite clearly that the whole treatment of the child was wrong. The only chance for such a man is to act at once on his best impulse; his only strength is in yielding at once to his finer feelings. But he played fast and loose with his convictions; he tampered with his opportunity; he seemed to treat Joseph better than the rest did; but, trifling with his sense of duty, he treated God worse. God in Reuben's innermost soul called him to be his brother's keeper, and he had instead, by his delay to be obedient, been his destroyer. No wonder that his conscience stung him and

that the goad was sore in his soul! He might well ask, "I, whither shall I go?"

There are not in this chapter two more instructive verses than these two about Reuben. He had no ill-will to Joseph; he had fine impulses; he had a conscience that did its duty; yet, withal, he was a cipher in the moral universe. He was like a mariner with rocks ahead laid down clear on his chart, with the wind rising round him, who yet never went near the wheel. Reuben dallied with the Divine orders in his breast, trifled with time and missed his chance; his whole inner nature called out "Duty," and he never laid his hand on his will or said to himself, "Thou shalt." He acted the moral coward, and became a moral weakling; he knocked at the door at his own time, as if God was going to wait his convenience, and the door was shut; he "returned unto the pit, and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit." It is perhaps safe to say that none of us fail in good impulses; we all have them by the dozen daily. None fail in visions of glorious opportunity; the man must have blind bats' eyes who does not see them every day in a world where a horizon of immortality bounds all the paths of life; but we fail in courage and action. In morals and duty second thoughts are never best—are ever bad; a man's only chance is in immediate, decisive, fearless action. A fine impulse is very flattering to one's self, it spreads a pleasant aroma over one's inner life; but God smells no sweet savour in it. A grand opportunity to do duty is a chance and a call to make one's self morally a man, but a grand opportunity neglected is only disgrace in the ranks of God's heroes. We think we are right (each may answer for himself if we are or not) when we say that most of our failures in duty have arisen in vacillation, in neglect of golden moments, in trifling with time. Like Reuben, we hung fire, we hesitated, and we let the chance go by, thinking we would have it afterwards. Or we

ventured upon a forbidden path—perhaps upon a round-about right path instead of the straight and direct one—meaning at the end to do the right thing in good time. But God gives us only a moment at a time to waste or work with; we have no hours in hand, no morrows to count on; we have no credit in the future to warrant us to speculate with what is so precious as the present. All that lies behind us of time is but a long succession of dead moments that drew but one breath, throbbed but one pulse, smiled but one smile, or were offended into but one frown, and which wait to live and rise and meet us again in the restitution of all things. Young men especially, remember Reuben! learn to pass at once from good impulse to good action! translate in a moment "Thou oughtest to do" into "Thou shalt do"! The connection should be automatic betwixt conscience and will; the moments in morals save us or ruin us. Stand, hammer in hand, ready to hit whenever God lays a glowing opportunity before you: God's opportunities quickly cool. To delay doing duty is simply not to do it at all.

> Miss not the occasion; by the forelock take
> That subtle Power, the never-halting Time,
> Lest a mere moment's putting off should make,
> Mischance almost as heavy as a crime.

In the two verses 29, 30 we saw that there was a light parting between Reuben and the rest, Reuben being a little separate from the others in motive and aim. But here (verse 31) the ranks are closed again; and, shoulder to shoulder, the ten sons stand before their father as liars, and Reuben is their captain. What a failure the fellow is making of his life! and yet all he wanted was the courage of his convictions. They took Joseph's coat and dipped it in the blood of a goat. They had never liked that coat—their father's love-token to Rachel's boy; they hated their brother out of it, they hated him the

more in it; they had a malicious pleasure in stripping it off him, and now they are mad against it. We have heard that when men have done a deed of murder and left their victim dead, they will turn round, wild with an afterblast of fury, and strike again and again at the silent face—so terrible is a passion when let fairly loose. There is, in these brothers letting out their hatred on the gift of their father's love, something that appals one in much the same way; there is an infuriated irony in it, a wanton extravagance in their cruelty. To save themselves a very little responsibility—the responsibility of a mere word—they stood back and allowed the old man to search for the fair colours through the cold, silent stains; they hand him, with refined and exquisite torture, the coat, and say, "Know now if this be thy son's coat or no." We think that they need not have strained out the gnat, when they had swallowed a camel. We think they might have written out the lie in plain black and white, instead of mixing up the deceiving red with those fair colours. This is the mean side of sin; for the whole nature of a man sinks when he sins. To be an undutiful brother is to begin to be an unkind son. There is no end to sin when it once gets into a man's heart, it advances at such a ratio—an unkind feeling, then an unkind word, a furious passion, death blows and lies, and cruelty for the mere pleasure of it! This is what it meant as they took Joseph's coat and killed a kid of the goats and dipped the coat in the blood and brought it to their father. Sin has banished the divine out of these men; it has done more, it has eaten their manhood out of them. Surely sin is a cruel canker! Surely this disease needs a Great Physician and Healer!

We might wish that we had a pleasanter subject to meditate on; but here we have come to it in God's lesson-book, and we may not without much blame pass

it by. We must ask ourselves what, in this world of ours, and in our own lives, a lie means. For we cannot but feel that the lie of these brethren was even a more serious fact for them than their having sold their brother into Egypt. When we work our moral nature, we work a self-recording machine; when we do wrong, we set an indelible mark on the forehead of our better selves. But when a man lies to hide what he has done, he is locking up his nature and throwing away the key which might open things up that they might be put right; he is as nearly as possible making recall impossible, he is leaving sin's mark to burn itself in.

Now there are two ways of lying—a bold daring way, like writing with a plain round hand in black ink; and a meaner way, like mixing fair colours with red and writing in a disguised hand. There is the plain lie of black and white; and there is the finely-shaded lie—the Turneresque lie of subtle chiaroscuro and vague and subtle effects—the lie that is mixed up with truth. Both ways of lying are sin before God; neither way is permitted anywhere in all His universe. Yet to us there is a difference: the plain, blunt lie is the one that society is shocked at and rises up to avenge, but it is the subtle lie that eats the man out of us, and ruins the life of an age. You had better put lights out and leave a ship to the black night than kindle a false beacon and with light lure her to wreck. If you will lie, lie right out rather than shuffle the truth and insinuate the lie. See and learn what lying is in its most foolish and meanest forms as you are shown these sons of Jacob here. It was all to come out yet: these cowardly men would not be saved a moment's misery by all the falsehood with which they covered their crime; they would shudder at their own shadow every day till the truth was disclosed. They had done Joseph not a whit of harm when they

stained his harmless coat in blood; they were doing old Jacob really no harm, for the difference to him was infinitesimal whether his son was lost to him one way or another, if lost he was; but they were doing irreparable injury to themselves. They were kindling a fire that would burn their hearts unbearably hot, that would make them draw quick breath at night and take restless steps by day till flame broke out all around their false life, and the world was told that they had lied. The moral sage of our century, its prophet of roughest clothing, the Hebrew interpreter of the French Revolution—which was the suicide of France's lying century—lived and spoke to purpose if he had said nothing else than this: "In that whirlwind of the universe . . . there was to men a voice audible . . . voice from the heart of things once more to say "Lying is not permitted in this universe. The wages of lying, you behold, are death. Lying means damnation in this universe; and Beelzebub, never so elaborately decked in crowns and mitres, is not God." Every day we live we are making our life either a truth or a lie; but we may learn here out of God's own word that both Time and Eternity proclaim for Truth! and at the last we all one by one shall be judged by that man who said, "I am the Truth."

How slowly (verse 33) the old father drags out the inevitable and painful inference, as he handles the blood-stained evidence and turns the sad facts over in his mind! How full of the cadence of pain the simple words are—"It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him"! and how pathetically he accepts the reluctant conclusion, "Joseph, my Joseph, the lad, Rachel's child—Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces"—all the reminiscences of the innocent little life breaking round like waves in a great sea of sorrow. "And Jacob rent his clothes and put sackcloth upon his loins and mourned for his son

many days." These are words which need not to be explained; their meaning is too plain to need to be told; for "Never morning wore to evening but some heart did break." The big world all round has been trenched into graves: the sea has its dead and the frozen snows have theirs; our old earth driving through blue space is freighted with the dead—a larger charge than all the living! This old sorrow of Jacob's is a fresh sorrow to some one every day; there are hundreds to-day bending over their broken hearts, their whole life having become as if one great blank. There is not one who reads this page but has known some vanished face, the memory of which still commands their tears; and

> That loss is common does not make
> My own less bitter.

The grief of Jacob had elements of peculiar sorrow in it. It was the morning of the old for the young—a grief with a quality all its own; for this is the unrelieved, unmitigated complaint of the most disinterested love. Then, added to that, were all the torturing elements of uncertainty—imagination heightening the unseen into a large pain. When we can count the hours as we watch the slow going away of a friend on a death bed, when, after it is all over, we can hold the dead hand and can venture even to speak to them their dead name, when we can do all the last offices and lay them in a grave, the pain may be very sharp, but then we know it all to the very end. But we may know, or we can think, what it means when a son leaves the father's doors and never comes back—the sea taking the life and giving the grave in one and the same moment, or some far distance wrapping the absent one in perpetual separation and silence. For such a death gives a bitterer sorrow than any death at home. It was this sorrow which made Jacob mourn so much. His son was lost—at least he thought so—

yes! it must be so; and yet there was a mystery about it, an awful uncertainty hung over it all, and sometimes all his mind was clouded with a doubt. The agonizing thing would be that some hope would linger in his heart —not enough to give any comfort, but just enough to keep the pain from healing!

This is the grief that is sorest by far. On other mourners sorrow falls like a frost, and leaves are withered and fall, and dead, cold winter takes awhile entire possession; but this gnawing uncertainty eats at the root and slowly silences the life with a perpetual blight. It is a sorrow which the old can never get over, when they do not know exactly what has happened. Long after the sun is set the grey will lighten and fade, and fade and lighten again, till they hardly know whether their grief is a darkening night or a brightening morning. Again and again, and yet again, old Israel would be at the tent door looking for Joseph to come back, and returning, though late, to look again before it was dark, waiting after all the hills were silent lest even then he might return. We know that that is the way with the old when the loved are lost, some unseen distance having taken them away and kept them. They wake at night and hear the watch-dog bay far up the hills, and think of those who arrived late when they were not looked for; remember, or think they remember, having heard of some who returned after hope was gone. They wander along familiar walks by day and listen along them by night; they stand by the pier when the ships sail home, and they watch for the wave of a hand—all in vain, they know; but hope will neither be bidden nor forbidden, when they have gone from us who have never come back. Israel knew what he was saying, "I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning"—so irremediable was the loss, so great "the Blank in the Tent"; so impossible was it that such a sorrow should either be comforted or by an old man

be got over; and Jacob's only solace and desire were now to think that by-and-by he and his son would sleep in a common bed—a grave with many sleepers between—or haunt together some silent halls of Hades. So, "though all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort, he refused to be comforted; for he said, I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning." All his sons rising to comfort him! Would one not like to have given a look and a word to those sons, intruding on their father's sorrow, and doing the hypocrite as they pretended to console him? Could more hollow-hearted mockery be imagined? Could falseness have gone farther? But I have little doubt that they had done themselves such moral injury that they had mortified consciences as well as petrified feelings ere now. They had told, and had lived in, their falsehood so often and so long that they—to use Shakespeare's words of terrific moral analysis—

> By telling of it
> Made such a sinner of their memory
> To credit their own lie!

Indeed, to exaggerate is simply impossible in speaking of the utter havoc which untruth can and does make in a human heart and life.

We may dwell for one moment upon that wondrous love wherewith Jacob loved Joseph, and on the utter anguish to which this love was changed by loss. Think how that tender young life had grown up out of sorrow for Rachel, till it was all enclosed round with the clinging tendrils of the old man's heart, and then realize how the heart was torn when Joseph was lost. A young heart may live to love again, but the old heart can only live to sorrow. And yet life is made up of such experiences; the old have the last lingering blossom plucked, and their life left wintry bare and wintry desolate; and the young, who had fixed on a bud to be plucked on a morrow when its delight would

be greater, its petals fuller and its fragrance sweeter, have often to hear all through the night the wind and pitiless rain, and to find in the morning what promised so much only a broken and soiled disappointment. As far as this world goes, all the love is changed or lost; all the lights of life go out; all the rooms of our houses are left unto us desolate—it always comes to "the Blank in the Tent."

But is this what it really means? Is this all? Is this most? No, it is not all! It is not most! It is really not this at all! Is the great house of life made up of only these few poor rooms down here which you and I have entered, and peopled with our friends, and sweetened with our love? Even these silent chambers, which we call those of death, are rooms in this great house—resting-rooms, where the wearied sleep—chambers whose name is Peace, opening towards the sunrise, and love is the atmosphere and law of the whole wide house. Love has the right to wander into every desert, and to call to every sea, and to knock at every grave, and to demand its own back again; and God, who is Love, will not, cannot, dare not refuse, for love is His own law; and when love does all that, it is only accepting His own pledge and making His own plea. Never let us try to comfort ourselves for the lost by lessening our love for them, or by withdrawing it and giving it away to others; when we do that, we are giving up the best, we are surrendering everything. Rather let us trim our love for the dead when it wanes, and steady it if it flickers; we should never let it burn out or burn low; it is one of God's lights—one of His lesser, lower lights—for guiding His children home. A dark horizon, as of night and cloud, now divided Joseph and Jacob; and above it there hung, unextinguished, unimpaired and only tearful like a star in a troubled sky, their love for one another. Jacob had lost Joseph, but his love for him shone out in the darkness and desolation years and years afterwards and led

him across the desert and the distance till they met and clasped and kissed with tears. That star is God's: He made it; He calls it by name; He calls it by His own name, and its name is "Love"; and by it He promises to each of us that He Himself

> In the long way that I must tread alone,
> Will lead my steps aright.

We may also think of Joseph and look at this loss and separation from his point of view. He was hidden to sight among the shadows of the far away; but, if we may so put it, though Jacob cannot see into the darkness, Joseph can see out from under it. He can see and remember his old home, and can respond to his father's love there, the old scenes and the companionship of their old love were dearer now "than when he walked therein." So it may be, we reverently presume, with those who have gone further away to be absent longer—those whom we never hope, and, by-and-by, never *wish* to see on earth again. It is pleasant, and spiritually permissible, to think of this world of ours being still in their eyes—hanging far beneath them like a dusky star, but within sight of heaven and within their sight; and, without fault, we may believe that, in some far city there "clear as crystal," those faces we knew are sometimes to be found around its wall, "great and high," looking towards earth and remembering that we are there. Weep we may! weep sometimes we must! but we will not go down to our graves after them mourning; we shall rather ascend in desire into their life, or, if go down into the grave we must, we shall go down hoping, trusting, loving. Thus only can we as Christians, as the followers of Him who was dead and is alive again, and who is the Resurrection and the Life, allow ourselves to weep for

> Those friends of mine who live in God.

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

JÜLICHER ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PARABLES.

It is now thirteen years since the first part of Jülicher's work on the Parables of Jesus appeared. It was promised then that this part, which was of the nature of a General Introduction, would be followed within six months by a second, in which the parables would be examined in detail, and treated on the lines laid down in the first volume. The second part, indeed, was already written, but circumstances intervened which prevented its publication; and it was only at the end of 1898 that the second volume appeared. In view of the completion of the work, the occasion appears favourable for giving some account of the general principles it supports. No more spirited protest has ever been raised against the traditional method of parabolic interpretation than is to be found in the earlier volume. Long as the book has been before the world, it is questionable if it is so well known to English theologians as it should be; and even at this late date it may not be inopportune to direct attention to a work whose importance, as a contribution to the literature of the subject, is beyond all question.

In this paper it is proposed to give a short account of two of the most interesting sections in the book—those which deal with the Nature and the Purpose of the parables of Jesus. The former is the more important; for our conclusion as to the purpose of the parables will depend in great measure on that which we have reached regarding their nature; and to it—following Jülicher—we shall devote the greater space.

First, then, as to the Nature of the parables of Jesus. We find in the Synoptic Gospels certain sayings of our Lord —twenty in all—described as parables. That number, of

course, is by no means the limit. Many other sayings are, without doubt, to be reckoned as parables, which are not expressly so named by the Synoptists. But in order to avoid false conclusions, Jülicher resolves to keep strictly to the sources. We must not start, as is often done by those who have treated the subject, with some theory of parables of our own, and decide that such and such sayings of Jesus are to be included in the category. Our use of the word is not authoritative for the New Testament, and the twenty examples, expressly designated παραβολαί, surely supply sufficient material, from which to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

The word παραβολή, which the Evangelists apply to these sayings of Jesus, is suggestive. We naturally think of its connexion with παραβάλλειν, and are tempted to draw conclusions therefrom. But these conclusions would be reliable, only on the assumption that the Synoptists had coined the word themselves. But this is not the case. Steinmeyer has a theory that parable was a form of teaching peculiar to Jesus. But there is nothing in the Synoptists' use of the word to support that view. No one would suspect, for instance, from the casual manner in which Mark uses the word for the first time (iii. 23), that he is applying it to a form of speech hitherto utterly unknown. And in Luke the word is introduced first (iv. 23) in connexion with a saying, not of Jesus Himself, but of His hearers in Nazareth. With the Synoptists, παραβολή is plainly a word familiar to all. They give no explanation of it. They do not feel that it needs any. The disciples hear Jesus conveying His teaching in a certain form, and, quite naturally and spontaneously, they characterize His word as a παραβολή. We read of certain questions which they put to Jesus regarding His parables, but never of one as to what a parable really is. To the disciples, as to the Synoptists, parable is a current term of familiar import,

not by any means a new name to designate a new form of doctrine.

Matthew gives us a hint (xiii. 35) as to whence this familiarity with the term *παραβολή* proceeds. He finds in the teaching of Jesus a fulfilment of the prophecy, Psalm lxxviii. 2, *ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου.* The importance of the quotation for us lies in the fact that it refers us to the LXX. as the source in which we must seek an explanation of the New Testament idea of parable. The classical use of the word does not come under consideration. In the Gospels the word represents some Hebrew or Aramaic word, with which Jesus and His disciples designated certain of His sayings; and as the word *παραβολή* is so consistently used by the Synoptists for this purpose, we conclude that the selection of it did not originate with them, but was already determined by long familiar use. From the LXX. we have no difficulty in concluding what was the Hebrew equivalent. Matthew identifies the parables of Jesus with the *παραβολαί* of the LXX. in Psalm lxxviii. 2, and the *παραβολαί* of the LXX. are identical with the Hebrew מָשָׁל. With very few exceptions, which indeed appear to be due to chance, the Hebrew מָשָׁל is, in all its meanings, consistently rendered by the LXX. as *παραβολή.*

But, unfortunately, there seems to be as little unanimity of opinion as to the nature of the מָשָׁל in the Old Testament, as on the question of parable in the New. Amid the conflicting definitions of the various authorities, it is difficult to reach any satisfactory conclusion. Jülicher thinks that the root idea in the word is that of comparison. The comparative particle כ plays a leading part. Whether it be present or absent, the idea of comparison is always there. Similes, proverbs, allegories, all the various forms and figures of speech which receive this name מָשָׁל in the Old Testament, have this one thing in common—that there is

always some likeness expressed or implied, there is always some comparison instituted.

Among the approximate synonyms the most important for our present purpose is the חידה or riddle. How closely related the two are, is shown in the words in which Ezekiel introduces his allegory of the vine and the two eagles (xvii. 2), חוד חידה ומשל משל. And the reason of this close connexion is evident, for every riddle is founded on comparison. Thus, for instance, Samson's riddle to the Philistines, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," is really a series of metaphors. The eater and the strong are put for the lion, meat and sweetness for the honey. But close as is the relation between the two, משל and חידה are not identical. We are not told of Solomon's exchanging משלים (instead of חידות) with other royal persons; while, on the other hand, when we read of his 3,000 משלים, we understand the term to refer, not to riddles like that of Samson, but to such sayings as we find in the middle chapters of the Book of Proverbs. At a later time, indeed, we find that the משל and the חידה are practically identified. In the apocryphal literature—notably in Sirach—obscurity and difficulty have become essential characteristics of the *παραβολή* or משל. We meet with the phrase *εὕρεσις παραβολῶν* just as we have *λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων*, and the expression *ἐν αἰνίγμασι παραβολῶν* is interchangeable with *ἐν παραβολαῖς αἰνιγμάτων*. This, of course, is the natural result of the influence of scribism, whose tendency was to claim honour to itself by magnifying the obscurity of the Scripture which was the subject of its study. But the fact that this characteristic of obscurity was the predominant one in the conception of משל among the scribes at the time of our Lord, need not prejudice us as to His use of the term. He had little sympathy with their labours; and just as, in the Sermon on the Mount, He breaks away from the traditions

of the scribes and reaches back to the Law itself, so on this question of the משל, it is probable that He was more in sympathy with the great Moshelim of ancient Israel than with their latest interpreters.

With the Evangelists it is another matter. It is only too plain that to them obscurity is an essential characteristic of the parable. Let them speak for themselves. Take John first. In His farewell address to His disciples Jesus says (xvi. 25): *ταῦτα ἐν παροιμίαις λελάληκα ὑμῖν· ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε οὐκέτι ἐν παροιμίαις λαλήσω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ παῤῥησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν.* And the disciples reply shortly afterwards (xvi. 29): *ἴδε νῦν ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ λαλεῖς, καὶ παροιμίαν οὐδεμίαν λέγεις.* We have this word *παροιμία* used again in x. 6, with reference to the figure of the Shepherd and the sheep: *ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τίνα ἦν ἃ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς.* Now the word *παροιμία* does not occur in the Synoptists. But it is used sometimes in the LXX. to translate משל, and the conjecture lies near that by *παροιμία* = משל, John means the same thing as the Synoptists by *παραβολή* = משל. One thing is plain, at any rate—that to John obscurity is characteristic of the *παροιμία* = *παραβολή*. The disciples are delighted when Jesus passes from such dark, mysterious sayings to plain, open speech. The *παροιμία* admitted of no *γνῶσις* on their part (x. 6). There is a hidden meaning which they cannot grasp. Word and thought have parted company. The hearers receive only *τὰ λαλούμενα*, not *τὰ ὄντα*. The *παροιμίαι* are virtually *αἰνίγματα*, exactly like that of Samson to the Philistines.

With this view of John's the Synoptists agree. We have a parallel to the above passages from the fourth Gospel in Mark's: *οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολην τάυτην, καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε;* (iv. 13). Again, iv. 9, 23, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear"; and iv. 24, *βλέπετε τί ἀκούετε*, are a warning that some deeper meaning lurks

beneath the words. That obscurity belongs to the nature of parables is expressly declared in Mark iv. 12, where, in the words of Isaiah, it is said that the hearers of the parables see and do not perceive, hear and do not understand. The parables are a method of teaching intended for the multitude who do not possess the *μυστήριον* of the kingdom of God,—selected expressly with the purpose that they may not obtain this *μυστήριον*. From the disciples *γνῶσις* is not withheld, but they attain it, not through the parables, but solely through special private instruction on the part of Christ, *κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπέλυεν πάντα* (iv. 34). So far of Mark. The position of Matthew and Luke is exactly the same. In Luke viii. 9 the disciples ask forthwith *τίς εἴη ἡ παραβολὴ αὕτη ;* and Jesus answers (viii. 11), *ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ παραβολή*. Plainly word and meaning here are two different things. The words tell of what befell the seed which the sower sowed. The meaning is that such and such is the reception which the Word of God meets with in the hearts of men. So again in Matthew xiii. 36 the disciples make the request: *διασαφησον* (so Jülicher would read) *ἡμῖν τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν ζιζανίων*, reminding us of the definition of an old scholiast *παραβολαὶ μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ δεόμενα σαφηνείας*. It so happens that the word *διασαφέω* is the one used by Josephus (Archæol. v. 8, 6) in connexion with Samson's riddle. And the interpretation, the *λύσις*, given to the reader of the Gospel is exactly on a line with that which Samson receives of his riddle. *Ἐξ ἰσχυροῦ ἐξῆλθε γλυκύ*, runs Samson's riddle (Judges xiv. 14), and the interpretation is, *τί γλυκύτερον μέλιτος ; καὶ τί ἰσχυρότερον λεόντος* ; (xiv. 18). Jesus's parable runs : *ἦλθεν ὁ ἐχθρὸς . . . καὶ ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια ἀναμέσον τοῦ σίτου* (Matt. xiii. 25), and the interpretation is : *τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας· τὰ δὲ ζιζάνιά εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς . . . ἐστιν ὁ διάβολος*. It is difficult to see what difference there is between this *παραβολή* and that *αἴνιγμα*.

The reason is plain why, according to the Evangelists, the parables are so dark—because all the principal terms in them require to be understood in quite a different sense from the literal one. The hearer, in order to *συνιέναι* must substitute for the *ἀκουόμενα* other conceptions (*νοούμενα*) borrowed from a different sphere. What that other sphere is, and what these conceptions are, must be revealed to him. Without that the parable remains a riddle. In the parable of the sower, the seed *is*, to the *συνιείς*, not seed, but the Word; that which fell by the wayside, a certain class of hearers; and so on. There is, of course, a certain resemblance between the thing signified and that which takes its place in the parable, between the *νοούμενον* and the *λαλούμενον*. The selection of certain ideas to represent those which the speaker has in his mind is not, that is to say, pure matter of caprice, as if one were to say "mouse" when one meant "tower," or the like. The seed has a certain resemblance to the Word, the field to the world, just as in Samson's riddle there is some ground for representing the lion by *ἰσχυρός*, and the honey by *γλυκυ*. But the discovery of what the ideas are, which the terms introduced represent, is a matter of as much difficulty in the parable as in the riddle.

To sum up the Evangelists' conception of parable,—it is a speech in which the familiar conceptions introduced conceal subjects of the highest importance, subjects which, on comparison with the conceptions which are substituted for them, are found to exhibit a certain resemblance to the same.

So far, then, of the Evangelists' view of parables. Is it that of Jesus? That is another question. Jülicher is convinced that it is not. In order to decide the question we must examine more closely the conception of parable here before us.

There is little difficulty in concluding what place, among

the required figures of speech, we are to assign to the parable as understood by the Evangelists. It is plainly nothing more or less than an allegory. It has not always been perceived by those who have protested against the allegorical interpretation of the parables, that they were contending against the principle of interpretation recognised in the Gospels. Paul's interpretation of the passage regarding the two sons of Abraham (Gal. iv. 22–26) is founded on the model of that of the parables given in Matthew xiii., "the seed is the word," "the enemy is the devil"—*αὗται* (*i.e.* the *παιδίσκη* and the *ἐλευθέρα*) *γάρ εἰσιν δύο διαθῆκαι.* And Paul knows the right name for such figures—*ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα.* Among the definitions of allegory we may note that of Suidas, *ἀλληγορία ἡ μεταφορά, ἄλλο λέγον τὸ γράμμα καὶ ἄλλο τὸ νόημα,* and Quintilian's concise description: "aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit."

Allegory, like metaphor, belongs to the figures of speech founded on comparison. It is, in fact, an expanded metaphor, the difference between the two consisting in this, that while metaphor has to do with only one conception, allegory introduces a connected series of conceptions. To arrive at a better understanding of the nature of allegory let us, then, start with the germ from which it springs—metaphor. Metaphor is a figure of speech founded on similarity. It is closely allied to the simile, which also rests upon the *ὅμοιον.* But the distinction between the two is clearly marked. Take some examples from the Gospels: "Satan will sift you as wheat" (Luke xxii. 31); the multitudes are *ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐῤῥιμένοι ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα* (Matt. ix. 36); "Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves" (Matt. x. 16); "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings" (Luke xiii. 34)—these are similes. "To devour widows'

houses" (Mark xii. 40); "Be whole of thy scourge" (Mark v. 34); "Thou shalt have treasure in heaven" (Mark x. 21)—these are metaphors. That both rest upon the ὅμοιον is evident. Jesus's efforts on behalf of his people are *like* the anxious care which a hen shows for her brood on the appearance of danger. The illness, under which the woman with the issue of blood was suffering, is *like* a scourge under which one smarts. So far simile and metaphor agree; but the agreement extends no further. For there is this broad difference between them, that while simile puts the two similar objects side by side for the purpose of comparison, metaphor substitutes for the original one the strange one which resembles it. In both figures a foreign object is introduced. In Matthew ix. 36 Jesus is speaking, not about sheep, but about the multitudes; in Mark v. 34, not about a scourge, but about an illness. But in the latter case no mention is made of the illness, which is properly the matter in question, but only of a scourge. Every simile may be converted into a metaphor; *e.g.*, Matthew x. 16, "Be serpents and be doves"; every metaphor into a simile; *e.g.*, "Be healed of thy disease, which torments thee like the whip under which the slave smarts." But the unsatisfactoriness of the result—in the one case, unintelligible metaphors, in the other, long-winded similes—is a proof of the wide difference between the two. The simile, which always contains some comparative particle, such as ὡς, compels the reader to compare the two objects that are laid before him and observe their resemblance. The illustration is intended to be a help to him, to aid his understanding, as in Matthew x. 16, or to excite his emotions, as in Luke xiii. 34, or to rouse his will, as in Matthew vi. 7, where the addition ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί serves to strengthen the warning μὴ βαττολογήσητε by calling up a picture of those whom the hearer has no desire to resemble. But in order that the simile succeed in its purpose,

we must give full effect to the ὡς or ὥσπερ, and carefully compare the two objects it presents to us. Every word is to be understood literally. The ὄχλοι are ὄχλοι, but the sheep to whom they are compared are also real sheep; the shepherd is not Jesus but a real shepherd; Jerusalem is Jerusalem, but the hen, the brood, the wings are likewise all to be understood in the literal sense. They mean the same here as in any book on poultry. Only on that understanding can we make the comparison to which simile invites us. But in metaphor it is quite different. The scourge in Mark v. 34 is not a scourge, but a painful disease which resembles it; the treasure which we are to lay up in heaven is not a real treasure of gold or silver or precious stones, but something which resembles such earthly treasure. That is to say, metaphors are not to be understood literally. One thing is said and another thing is meant. Instead of the two objects being placed alongside of each other, as in simile, one is substituted for the other.

G. W. STEWART.

(To be continued.)

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

III. Unity against Plurality.

A. Isaiah.

Aristotle tells us that a work of art should be so constructed that the removal of any part should cause the whole to fall to pieces. We can therefore easily tell whether such a work is a unity by seeing what will happen if we take any part away. If the experiment results in leaving two unities where we fancied there was one, there will have been no original unity of plan. But if the result of the first experiment leads to endless dissection, then it will have been shown that the work was originally an organized whole.

If this canon be applied to the results of modern criticism on Isaiah, we shall be disposed to find the unity of the works ascribed to that Prophet brilliantly vindicated. To bisect Isaiah at the end of chapter xxxix. might seem an easy and legitimate process; but the result has been such as to justify Aristotle's worst fears. To speak of a theory of two Isaiahs is to intentionally mislead. Even the earliest dissectors of the Prophet were forced to turn him into three or four. If the newest Introduction to Isaiah be taken as representative of the newest criticism, the number of Isaiahs required is more than can be easily counted. The world, till about 1790, thought it had the works of a great Prophet, the productions of a mind sublimely, if not uniquely, gifted. But that was a childish mistake. What it really had was a patchwork made of scraps produced by a number of obscure

individuals so insignificant that posterity thought their names unworthy of record, or so dishonest that they dared not avow them. It is a cento of scraps of that sort that humiliated the literature of Greece and Rome and won Europe for Christ!

Now it is the business of science to produce results that are either certain or probable. Either they have their place in the chain of experience, or they are in harmony with it. Where a style of literature is common to many races, the scientific method is to master the history of the case which is most perfectly recorded, and to use the results to provide a working hypothesis for the cases that are more obscure. Thus Greece has epics, India has epics, and Persia has epics. In the case of the Greek epics history is silent both before and after their composition. The Indian epics can be located with rather more ease; for though India has no history, it is certain that Sanskrit literature does not begin with the epics. But in the case of the Epic Cycle of the Persians the whole history of the structure of the poems lies before us in faithful records. Therefore the working hypothesis for the cases of Greece and India should be supplied from the literary history of the Persians; for the inquiry will have been started in accordance with the principles of science.

In the case of *Prophecy* we have to deal with a class of literature unrepresented anywhere but in Israel. The Greek oracles bear some resemblance to the Prophecies as regards matter, but no collection of them ever formed a literary monument of consequence. They were moreover thought to be the actual compositions of the god, and Plutarch naïvely points out how extraordinary it seemed that the deity who inspired the poets should be so poor a composer himself. Therefore the only analogies that can guide us must be got from Hebrew literature. And, happily, we have one that is amply sufficient to serve as a touch-

stone for the twenty-Isaiah theory. By the side of the lengthy roll of Isaiah is the less lengthy roll of the twelve Minor Prophets. Few of these Prophets figure in history; and the judgment of mankind on their literary merits places none of them in the first class. They neither thrill as Isaiah thrills, nor have they influenced mankind as Isaiah has influenced it. How comes it then, if it was really the fashion of the Israelites to lump the oracles of different Prophets together, that the works of the whole series are not ascribed to the first? Why are not the prophecies of Haggai ascribed to Hosea? Some of the Minor Prophets have produced one chapter or thereabouts; but the tradition has not forgotten their names. How then comes it that the brilliant authors of the Isaianic oracles are for the most part utterly forgotten and neglected?

In order to give some colour to this paradox one piece of external evidence is adduced: "Rabbi Simon, quoted in the Midrash Rabbah, states that the verses 19 and 20 of Isaiah viii. were really by Hosea's father, but incorporated with Isaiah for fear lest they should get lost." The Midrash Rabbah appears not to have been committed to writing before about 1000 A.D.; and the Jews attach to it far less authority than they attach to the legends recorded in the Talmud. The Rabbi Simon referred to is probably the pupil of Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi, and his *floruit* may be placed about 250 A.D. We begin, then, by assuming that the oral tradition by which this saying was assigned to Rabbi Simon was faithfully preserved for some 750 years! Truly this is a large assumption. Writers such as Weiss, who make no very great pretensions to scepticism, place little faith in the lemmata of the Midrash. But supposing Rabbi Simon to have said it, how are we to suppose he got his information? Either the oral tradition preserved the correct account of the authorship of the verses from Isaiah's time to Rabbi Simon's—another 1,000 years—or he discovered it himself.

If he discovered it himself, his authority is simply worthless; a work in which such an opinion is even alluded to except for the purpose of ridicule may be safely branded as unscientific. Yet that Rabbi Simon did discover this himself is perfectly clear. His name figures fairly often in the Midrash and in the Jerusalem Talmud, and he clearly is an exegete of the Talmudic type. In the first section of the Midrash on Leviticus he is cited for the observation that the Books of Chronicles were written to encourage allegorical interpretations. He proceeds to show that Jared (1 Chron. iv. 18) means Moses, because Jared means "command," and Moses was a king. The word "Jewess" is applied to Jochebed, he says, in the same passage, because she, though of the tribe of Levi herself, gave the Jews a footing in the world. Elsewhere (Jer. *Rosh ha-shanah* i. 3) he infers from Genesis xxi. 17 that God judges men at the time of their actions, though the verse has no connection with the subject. To suppose, therefore, that this precious comment on Isaiah viii. has any other source than the imagination of some Rabbi is to misunderstand the Midrash. Rabbi Simon of course *inferred* that those verses were written by Hosea's father, and I will undertake to reproduce most of the steps of his reasoning. One premiss is that when the father of a Prophet is mentioned in the Bible, the father must have been a Prophet as well as the son; for this I may refer to the ordinary commentary on the Midrash. Therefore Beeri, father of Hosea, must have been a Prophet. In Isaiah viii. 20 we read, "Assuredly they shall say unto you like this word which have no dawn." Stars can, it is said, be seen at midday at the bottom of a well; since the dawn in ordinary cases chases the stars, one who lived at the bottom of a well would have no dawn. But the name of Hosea's father means "the man of the well." Therefore "which have no dawn" means Hosea's father. Hence Isaiah viii. 20 was written by Hosea's father; and since it

contains the phrase "like this word," which probably refers to the preceding verse, verse 19 was by the same author. But has not the text, "*they* shall say unto you"? Because the same prophecy was to be uttered by Isaiah, the plural is used; or "do not read 'they shall say,' but 'he shall say.'" That this was the line of reasoning followed by Rabbi Simon is practically beyond question; and since the stream cannot rise above its source, the Biblical criticism of the nineteenth century apparently *approves* methods of reasoning which a child of ten could confute.

But suppose that we have here not an absurd inference, but a valuable fragment of history: what follows? Place the value of Rabbi Simon's statement as low as you like, provided you allow it *some* value; then remember that the Isaianic authorship of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. is assumed by all the Rabbis and attested by many of them. The statement of an isolated Rabbi, recorded in a work of no authority, about a matter that happened 1,000 years before his time, is worth something; then shall the evidence of *all* the Rabbis be worth nothing? However atomic the value assigned to Rabbi Simon's statement, if it be once admitted as evidence, the case for the dissection of Isaiah is hopelessly lost. For it must be observed that the theory that Isaiah viii. 19, 20 were written by Hosea's father does not conflict with traditional views, for Isaiah himself confesses in one case that he has incorporated an earlier oracle with his prophecy: Rabbi Simon's statement adds to our knowledge, but does not alter existing conceptions. Hence this argument, if admitted, in no way helps the dissecting theory, whereas it brings in a cloud of witnesses who effectually ruin it.

But stay. Perhaps these Rabbis are better friends of the dissecting theory than you think. "The book of Isaiah in the Hebrew canon seems to have stood after Jeremiah and Ezekiel." This is proved by a reference to the Gemara of *Baba Bathra*, 14*b*, where reasons are given for placing

Isaiah after Ezekiel. The terms "Hebrew canon" and "Gemara" are too vague for science; let us try to limit them more closely. The Babylonian Talmud (Mishnah and Gemara) was compiled and written down about 800–850 A.D. The best accredited traditions were given a place in the Mishnah, less accredited ones in the Gemara. The "Hebrew canon" is a less accredited tradition. And justly so, for it is not regularly followed. Saadyah Gaon (ob. 942 A.D.) won the case for the Talmud, and a pupil of his provided a canon for the Arabic *Fihrist*, compiled in 987 A.D. His order is, Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Kings Minor Prophets. In the fourteenth century another Jew provided a canon for the author of the *Irshad al-kasid*. His order is, Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Minor Prophets. Hence it appears that, in spite of the Babylonian Gemara, this order obtained no great following after the Talmud was compiled. Then had it any before the Talmud was compiled? Melito made inquiries before 200 A.D. of Palestinian Jews, and their order was, Isaiah Jeremiah Minor Prophets Daniel Ezekiel. The order of the Syriac and Armenian versions is, Isaiah Minor Prophets Jeremiah Ezekiel. The order of the LXX. is, Minor Prophets Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel.

The date of the tradition in *Baba Bathra* can be fixed not with certainty, but approximately, as the seventh century of our era.

Hence we have the following alternatives before us. The Babylonian Gemara may retain a tradition of an ancient practice that goes back earlier than any other authority. In 270 B.C., when the LXX. translation of Isaiah was made, uncritical people had already wrong notions about the order of the books, which were shared at the end of that century by Ben-Sira. But the critical historians through whose hands the Talmudic traditions passed kept up a vestige of the truth. What a splendid vindication we have here of the Talmud as a source of history! Authors many cen-

turies earlier went wrong, and authors many centuries later went wrong; but the accurate and critical Talmud retains the truth! Unfortunately, when a conservative critic proceeds to quote the evidence of the Talmud for the *unity* of Isaiah, he is certain to be told that it is grossly uncritical to cite such an authority. The witnesses are to be believed only when their evidence favours a particular side.

How comes it, we may parenthetically ask, that the mediæval Rabbis were so much more critical in their Biblical studies than the scholars of the nineteenth century? for it is quite certain that neither Saadyah nor Rashi would have employed Talmudic evidence in this way. The reason is that they did not ordinarily comment with a particular interest in view. *Now* the interest is the ejection of the supernatural; and the desire to accomplish this leads at times to very curious results.

Secondly, we may suppose that the order was originally as one of the ancient authorities has it—was then altered, and altered again. In this case the tradition is of no use for the purpose for which it is cited.

Or, thirdly, we may suppose that there was no order. The Bible was a collection of books, which might be arranged according to the fancy of the owner. The order mentioned in B. *Baba Bathra* was the order of a casual copy. There is an accommodation to common sense in this view which I fear will render it unpopular.

Here, then, the impugners of the unity of Isaiah call in a witness who is either useless, or proves far more than can be desirable.

Before quitting the Introduction referred to, we may notice what is, according to it, a *certain* proof of non-Isaianic authorship. The mention of Cyrus or the use of an Aramaic loan-word is, we learn, flagrantly opposed to the possibility of authorship by Isaiah.

Let us take the second test first. Aramaic loan-words

are found in hieratic documents many centuries earlier than Isaiah. In Deborah's song, which is assuredly a very early specimen of Hebrew, there occurs an Aramaism *yethannu*, "they shall celebrate"; for there is no ground for severing this from the Aramaic. In the patera of Baal-Lebanon (800 B.C.?) there occurs the Aramaic loan-word *reshīth*. Then we know from 2 Kings xviii. 25 that the Aramaic language was learnt by court officials in Isaiah's time; hence, if Isaiah's oracles were full of Aramaic loan-words, we should have no occasion for surprise. The only Aramaic loan-words that prove anything are words that we can date; and when words known to have been introduced into Aramaic later than 700 B.C. are found in any part of Isaiah, it will be proper to pay them due respect.

With regard to the mention of Cyrus, that involves questions concerning the power of God which are scarcely worth discussing, because agreement is not likely to be arrived at.

These few examples of arguments have been dealt with chiefly out of respect for the chief authority on Isaiah in this country. If science have an even balance, and deal in certainties and probabilities, we may safely brand both the methods and results which we have noticed as *unscientific*. Worse authorities than Rabbi Simon and the Babylonian Gemara we could not cite; when either is cited on the conservative side, the argument is received (and often rightly) with a burst of laughter. More inaccurate statements than that about Aramaic loan-words could not easily be made; let such a statement be made on the conservative side, and he who makes it will repent. Hence the arguments that are to be adduced cannot be less scientific than those in which "Biblical criticism" is wont to indulge. Let us hope that they may be found more so.

My first reason, then, for assailing the theories that split Isaiah is that the result to which they lead is uncritical, and even ludicrous. That two authors of stupendous merit

might accidentally get bound up together, and so the works of the second get attributed to the first, is exceedingly unlikely, but not so unlikely as to be impossible; in the case of Isaiah, however, not only is the analogy of the Minor Prophets decidedly against it, but that of Ezra and Nehemiah still more so. Owing to the similarity of the subject of which these authors treat, they appear in several canons under the single head of Ezra; but the Jews, though they probably often bound them up together, never confused them. Still, if the division of Isaiah between two authors gave satisfaction, and further dissection did not immediately follow, this solution would not go so far outside the bounds of experience as to be called uncritical. But the fact that this first dissection leads to innumerable others renders it useless. The assumption that we can locate disjointed fragments of Hebrew is to be summarily rejected. Even if we knew the Hebrew language as well as we know, say, Greek, and Israelitish history as well as we know, say, Greek history, and if we could be sure that we were familiar with all the forces which go to the making of history, such an assumption would be arrogant. But the case is infinitely less favourable than that supposed. We know so little Hebrew that the simplest correction of a Biblical text is a hazardous undertaking. Of Israelitish history we know little in any case; on the showing of the Biblical critics that little has been fraudulently altered over and over again to suit religious prejudices current at different epochs. Moreover, the world—and a world including men like Bacon, Locke and Newton—has till very recently been convinced that forces entered into the development of Israelitish history, of which the history of other nations exhibits but faint traces. What chance is there, then, of any form of criticism that ventures far from documents and monuments finding its way? There is none. And science disdains all results that are neither certain nor probable.

Next, it must be perceived that the author of chapters xl.–lxvi. is either a Prophet, or a very great rogue and impostor. The mention by him of the name of Cyrus (xlv. 4–6) is declared to be a tremendous miracle wrought in order that the whole world from East to West might know that Jehovah was the only God. If the fact was that the prophet of an unimportant and oppressed community mentioned in the name of his god a conqueror whose fame was filling the world, what miracle was there in this? The world might as well ring with the fact that Vergil mentioned Augustus. Yet the "second Isaiah" claims foreknowledge so constantly and so emphatically that he has left himself no loophole. "Let the strange gods come forward and tell us what is going to happen, and then we shall know that they are gods (xli. 23). See, the former things have come to pass, and now I am telling you of the latter things (xlii. 9). Who is there like Me, who can tell things in their order, and proclaim coming events and the future? (xliv. 7). Be not afraid—have I not told you of old and made you hear and ye are my witnesses? (*ibid.* 8). Let all the nations be gathered together—which among them can foretell this? Let them tell us the former things (*i.e.*, show that they have foretold things that are now realized), and produce witnesses of good character who shall assure us that they heard the prediction and confirm the assertion. Ye are *my* witnesses (xliii. 9, 10). I foretold the former things long ago; they went forth from my mouth so that I could make them heard; then suddenly I wrought them and they came about. This was because I knew that thou art obstinate; thy neck is like a bar of iron, and thy brow like brass. Therefore I told thee of them long before; before they came about I announced them to thee; lest thou shouldst say 'my idol wrought them, my image ordained them' (xlviii. 3–5)."

These are not all the passages in which this writer

insists on the fact that he, as God's spokesman, has foretold events with certainty, whereas the representatives of other gods have been unable to predict. The author therefore speaks like a man of *science*, who is aware that the truth can submit itself to tests. God, who is the Author of phenomena, can also predict phenomena; and in order that genuine inquirers may be able to test the truth of Israelitish monotheism, He has empowered His servant to predict events before their arrival, and in certain cases long before their arrival. The earlier predictions have been realized, therefore the later predictions will be realized. Care was taken to have the earlier predictions properly attested *before* the event, so that when the realization took place the fact of the prediction could not be doubted. The predictions have been *public* (xlv. 19; xlviii. 16), so that there can be no doubt of their genuineness. And in the case of the predictions which occupy chapters xl.–lxvi. all Israel is their witness.

The false gods, or rather their worshippers, are asked to produce similar cases of prediction. Such predictions must, says the Prophet, be attested by witnesses of good character; if they can be produced, and be shown to have been realized, then the false gods have a claim to be regarded as true gods. But the Prophet declares that no such predictions and no such attestation can be produced.

It is undoubtedly providential that we have before us a record of some of the oracles of false gods, preserved in the work of Herodotus. Crœsus, who very rightly thinks the oracles ought to be tested, finds the Delphic oracle satisfy *his* test, viz., it can tell his messengers what he (Crœsus) is doing many hundred miles away. But when he proceeds, after lavish gifts, to ask the oracle what will be the result of his war with Cyrus, the oracle *flinches*; it devises an answer which can have no other purpose than to save its credit in any contingency. Now, the "second Isaiah's"

oracles about the event of Cyrus's campaign against Babylon are positive and uncompromising. Either, then, they were before the event, or they were after the event. If they were before the event, then the Prophet has undergone his own test satisfactorily; but, in order to make it unquestionable, it ought to have been uttered before the name of Cyrus was ever heard. If, on the other hand, it be after the event, then the "second Isaiah" is a rogue of no common order; for the worst sort of impostor is one who not only practises without authorization, but, in addition, forges a certificate.

It is noticeable that the passages in which the "second Isaiah" declares that he has foretold events begin very early in the second half of Isaiah. What then are the events which he has predicted? "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus"—whoever reads these words infers at once that the author of the Acts must be the author of the Gospel ascribed to St. Luke; for no one would commence a book with a reference to a former work that never existed, unless he meant to deceive. If, therefore, we regard chapters xl.–lxvi. as the *continuation* of the first half of Isaiah, the references to the former events which had come about as the prophet had predicted are intelligible; the failure of the invasion of Sennacherib, which his lying annals conceal, is attested by the Greek historian; and we are justified in ascribing that failure to providential interference. That was, doubtless, the most striking of Isaiah's predictions, but in other cases he took the wise precaution of having his oracles properly attested (viii. 2 and 16; xxx. 8). Either, then, we are to suppose that the "second Isaiah" had foretold events successfully, but that his predictions attracted so little attention as to be lost; or we are to suppose that this profession of his is a piece of imposture; or, thirdly, there remains the old and traditional theory that the oracles on the fulfilment of

which the "second Isaiah" bases his claim to credibility are the oracles of the "first Isaiah." Rejecting the first proposition as absurd, and the second on the ground that a claim so forcibly put forward would certainly have been challenged unless substantiated, we are driven to the third alternative; the "former events" to which the passages quoted allude must be the events predicted by the "first Isaiah," and duly realized.

Either, then, the first Isaiah wrote the work ascribed to the second, or the "second Isaiah" wrote the work ascribed to the first; for the idea that the "second Isaiah" claimed falsely to have produced the oracles which were really by the first Isaiah may be excluded. Either the first Isaiah was gifted with astounding knowledge of the future, or a false prophet of the time of Cyrus forged a whole series of oracles, some of which corresponded well with past history, in order to attach to them an appendix of oracles referring to events in the then future. This latter supposition may be refuted when any serious writer maintains it.

Out of the oracles of the first Isaiah it seems impossible to banish certain leading ideas which perpetually recur. *A remnant shall return.* This is the name which the Prophet gives one of his sons. It is asserted in the middle of the very oracle in which the failure of Sennacherib is foretold (x. 21). It is the burden of the opening chapter; were it not for a *remnant*, Judah would be like Sodom or Gomorrah. The nation must undergo a process of purifying similar to that by which silver is extracted from lead. The *relics* of the nation will one day be gathered together from the four corners of the earth (xi. 11) by a miracle resembling that whereby Israel was in old times delivered from Egypt. The children of Israel will be picked up one by one from the nations whither they have been banished (xxvii. 12, 13). If, then, the true and genuine message of

Isaiah is that a remnant shall return, and yet that remnant is not to return from Assyria, whence is it to return? Chiefly from Babylon, as the historically attested oracle in chapter xxxix. implies; and what is clear is that the "second Isaiah," like the first, knows little of Babylon but the names Babel and Chasdees; and that except the name Cyrus the second possesses no detailed foreknowledge of later events that is not also at the command of the first.

Leaving alone the references to Cyrus and Babylon, let us see whether the date of chapters xl.–lxvi. can be fixed by other considerations. There is some geography in these chapters, and there is also some in Jeremiah and in Ezekiel. If the "second Isaiah" wrote in the time of Cyrus, he must have had the works of these two prophets before him, and can scarcely have been less familiar than Ezekiel with the geography of the countries that entered into Babylonian politics. But it is the fact that the "second Isaiah" is ignorant of what was commonplace to Ezekiel.

The races Meshech and Tubal, to the Assyrians Muski and Tabali, to the Greeks Moschi and Tibareni, formed a natural couple, like Holland and Belgium, or Norway and Sweden. Ezekiel mentions them together *five* times (xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1); and they are named together in the genealogical tables, which couple Javan (the oriental name for Greece) with them. To Ezekiel, therefore, it was well known that Moshech (as Meshech should be corrected) was a *proper name*, belonging to a nation or country. But Isaiah thought it a Hebrew word, meaning "drawer," and he interprets it "drawers of the bow." Thus the verse lxvi. 19 reads, "I will send refugees of them to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, *drawers of the bow*, Tubal, and Javan." But the Hebrew for "drawers" is *Mosh'che*. If we compare the lists in Ezekiel and in the genealogical tables, it will seem clear

that "Drawers of the bow" is not an epithet of Lud, but the name of a race, viz. *Moshech.*

For in the first place there is no reason why Lud only out of the whole list should have an epithet, least of all an epithet which has no connexion with the operation in which the visit of the refugees to them will result. Moreover if the fame of the Lydians as archers were such as to justify the employment of "archers" as a perpetual epithet, irrespective of the context, the ancient Greek writers ought to know something of it. But what Herodotus says (i. 79) is not that they were archers, but that their mode of fighting was on horseback, that they carried long lances, and were clever in the management of their steeds. If the lance was the national weapon of the Lydians, the bow was not so characteristic of their mode of warfare that a perpetual epithet could be taken from it.

What is remarkable is that Jeremiah had this passage of Isaiah before him, and stumbled over it curiously. In enumerating some warlike tribes (xlvi. 9) he mentions Cush and Put, bearers of shields, and *Ludim, bearers treaders of the bow.* This variation is highly interesting. In the first place his grammatical sense dislikes the coupling of a collective tribal name with the plural of the adjective; therefore the plural of the individuals is substituted for the tribal collective. In the second place we have the ungrammatical "bearers treaders" in place of Isaiah's "drawers." The verb *māshach* is so rarely used of "the bow" that the Prophet might well doubt whether Isaiah's phrase meant "draggers" of the bow or "pullers" of it; *i.e.* whether it referred to the carrying of the bow, or to the employment of it in actual warfare. The alternate suggestions, curiously enough, remain side by side in the text; but the reason of the association of the bow with the Lydian lancers is lost.

Jeremiah is, however, one step further than Isaiah in that he has the correct form *Put* for the incorrect *Pul*. The name Pul is probably due to a reminiscence of the name of an Assyrian king.

How are we to suppose that the Israelites became acquainted with the names of these distant nations? Probably one of the chief sources of ancient geography was a source that is still highly productive—interest in the doings of the great. How many of us a year ago had ever heard the names of Mafeking and Magersfontein? But now they are household words, not only in England, where they have a terrible interest, but wherever there are newspapers in any language. Because the interest of England was focussed on those places, the interest of the whole world was focussed on them. We cannot doubt that the vicissitudes of Assyrian politics were closely followed by the inhabitants of those countries which stood in danger of depopulation from the freaks of Assyrian kings. Some rough translations of the Assyrian kings' despatches were probably circulated, at any rate orally, and from these the surrounding peoples would learn something of the names and localities of foreign nations. Now the Moshech figure repeatedly in the *Annals* of Sargon, in whose reign they played an important part. Their king entered into more than one coalition against the power of Sargon, and we at present have only Sargon's account of the issue of the campaigns. Like the Greek and Hebrew writers, Sargon mentions Moshech and Tubal together (*Annals*, ed. Winckler 9, 173-4). It is almost surprising that any Israelite, writing *after* 711 B.C., should have mistaken the name *Moshech* for a Hebrew appellative; yet the report of Sargon's campaigns that reached Jerusalem may have been sufficiently inaccurate for this. Isaiah, moreover, does not display anywhere the erudition that characterizes Ezekiel. The forms of the name that

appear most frequently in Sargon's *Annals* are Muski and Mushki, and it is this latter form transliterated into Hebrew characters that Isaiah knows. That word seemed to mean "drawers of" to which the word "bow" formed a natural supplement. It is not probable that Isaiah meant it as an epithet of Lud; he probably regarded it as the name of a tribe, like the "Man-eaters" of Herodotus. Jeremiah supposes it to be an epithet of Lud, and we have seen his curious attempt at reproducing it. Ezekiel is thoroughly familiar with the name Moshech —it has been suggested that Ezekiel could even read cuneiform—and hence we see from this passage in the *last chapter* of the "second Isaiah" a proof of priority to Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

To see whether this argument will stand, let us try to elude it. The simplest way is to emend the text; to speak more plainly, to falsify the evidence. But as this method will be required in order to meet the argument from the name *Pul*, it must not be employed again in the same verse. And indeed in order to bring Isaiah's knowledge up to date we should have to strike out "bow," and emend the preceding word. This method is useless, because the even balance of science requires that both parties should be allowed to exercise the same rights; the defender of the second Isaiah will also be entitled to strike out of the text whatever goes against him, and so the whole affair be taken out of the hands of science. Since, then, the words are genuine, either they constitute an epithet of Lud, or they do not. If the former be the case, how comes it that the Lydians are made archers, whereas they really were lancers? If the latter be the case, let a tribe of "Drawers of the bow" be localized.

If the passage of Jeremiah be not an imitation of that in Isaiah, Jeremiah's mistake (in making the Lydians

archers) remains unaccounted for, and also his hesitation between two possible interpretations of the word *māshach* is still obscure. But if we conjecture that the passage of Jeremiah is also an interpolation, we are making too many hypotheses.

Hence I believe the explanation given to be the *only one* which will account for the phrases in Isaiah and Jeremiah, and this explanation makes Isaiah earlier than Jeremiah, and also earlier than Ezekiel. But if the last chapter of the prophecies of the "second Isaiah" is so much earlier than Jeremiah that the latter *comments* on it somewhat unintelligently, its genuineness is practically demonstrated. And the last chapter of a book is ordinarily the latest portion of it.

The next geographical argument is one from silence. The "second Isaiah" knows the name of Cyrus, but he does not know the name of Persia; and if chapter xiii. be by him, then he knows the name of Media, and thinks that it is Media which will overthrow Babylon. If chapters xli.–xlvi. be by him, he only knows that the destroyer of Babylon will come from the north-east. But of course the real contemporaries of Cyrus were as familiar with the name of Persia as we are with that of Germany. And Ezekiel, who belongs to the captivity, is quite familiar with the name, though he does not seem to know the locality. He names it by the side of Lud and Put (xxvii. 10) or Cush and Put (xxxviii. 5). Ezekiel, therefore, knows more geography than Isaiah or Jeremiah, and probably more than the genealogical table. For the old suggestion that in that table (Gen. x. 2) *Tiras* stands for *Paras*, "Persia," seems highly attractive. Since no copier of Genesis after the fall of Babylon would have made a mistake in transcribing the name Pāras, that table is earlier than the fall of Babylon. The error must, therefore, rest with the genealogist, who must be earlier than the

time of Ezekiel. But if Ezekiel was familiar with the name of Persia, it is impossible that it could have been unfamiliar to a contemporary of Cyrus; and though it would be no gross inaccuracy to speak of the Medes taking Babylon, it is unlikely that a contemporary who hoped to derive priceless blessings from the success of Cyrus would make the mistake of calling him a Mede. And it is practically impossible that a contemporary of reasonable intelligence could describe Cyrus as God's Messiah, and yet know no more about him than that he came from somewhere in the north-east. Hence the prophecy about Cyrus is earlier than the time of Ezekiel.

A geographical name that is deserving of keen attention is that of *Seba* (xliii. 3 and xlv. 14). This nation is mentioned in company with Egypt and Ethiopia, and its eponymous hero is called by the genealogist a son of Cush (Genesis x. 7). In Psalm lxxii., which is of the same *spirit* as Isaiah xl.–lxvi., it is coupled with Sheba, probably on account of similarity of sound. Isaiah, however, by no means confuses the two nations, but rightly names Sheba (more correctly Saba) in company with Arabian races. He, then, is the only author who knows anything about the people Seba, beyond the fact that they are connected with Ethiopia. They are a *tall* race, apparently employed as slaves, and as such they are to be brought to Jerusalem. There seem good grounds for identifying the Sebans with a race mentioned in the oracle of chapter xviii., where it is said that a nation dwelling apparently far beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, of lengthy stature and close-shaven, shall be brought as an offering to the Temple at Jerusalem. Now when could an Israelite know anything of a race that dwelt beyond the rivers of Ethiopia? Only when a Cushite dynasty was reigning in Egypt. The Ethiopian rule in Egypt came to an end in 662 B.C. or thereabout. While lower Egypt was in Cushite hands

there would be opportunities for Israelites to associate with Cushites, and learn something of the geography of the interior of Africa. I do not assert that the weird description of chapter xviii. is derived from anything but prophetic second sight; but the repetition of the description makes it likely that we have here a formula perhaps borrowed from despatches. The fact that the passage about Seba in chapter xlv. and the oracle of chapter xviii. fit together like pieces of a puzzle, and a puzzle that can only have been constructed before the fall of the Cushite dynasty in Egypt, makes very strongly for identity of authorship, and also for the traditional date of the "second Isaiah."

The geographical names in chapter lx. are also of some interest. Camels bred in Midian and Aifah are to come from Sheba (Saba); sheep from Kedar, and rams from Nebaioth. Aifah is named after Midian in the genealogical table (Gen. xxv. 4); since Isaiah knows something about Aifah, whereas the genealogical table cannot be shown to know anything, probably the name of Aifah is inserted in the table from this passage. Kedar figures elsewhere in Isaiah; xlii. 11: "Let the wilderness and *its cities*, the *courts* wherein Kedar dwells, lift up their voice." One would have thought the wilderness had no cities: "that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof" (xiv. 17); "they wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way; they found no city to dwell in" (Ps. cvii. 4). The Hebrew for "its cities" is *'ārāv*. Now compare Ezekiel xxvii. 21: "*Arabia* and all the princes of Kedar." The Hebrew for Arabia is *'arābh*, scarcely to be distinguished in pronunciation from "its cities." Hence it would seem that Ezekiel's geography shows the same advance here on Isaiah's as we noticed above in the case of Moshech. Arabia and Kedar are almost synonymous in the annals of Assurbanipal; but the name Arabia is not

known to the author of the genealogical table, whereas the name Kedar is (Gen. xxv. 13). The word has come to Isaiah's ears, but he thinks it means "his cities," just as he thought Moshech meant "drawer"; but in Ezekiel's time the name has become thoroughly familiar to Hebrew writers.

That the mistake is the Prophet's, and not that of a copyist, is shown by the fact that the genealogical table has not got Arabia, whereas we have seen that it takes Aifah from Isaiah.

These are, I think, the only geographical names whence any chronology can be obtained that meet us in the "second Isaiah." From them we gather that the author was earlier than Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and was utilized for the last edition of the genealogical table, which, however, is further advanced in geographical knowledge. That it takes no notice of *Pul* may be due to its identifying this land with Put; that it does not mention the mysterious *Sinim* (xlix. 12) is probably due to the supposition that this referred to the wilderness of Sin, mentioned in the Pentateuch, or Sinai. The indication of date got from the Prophet's mistaking *Moshech* and *Arab* for Hebrew words seems convincing. We learn from it, moreover, that the Prophet cannot have been acquainted with the cuneiform script, in which it would have been impossible to commit such errors.

Before quitting this "line of defence," we may first see whether it would lead to sound results if applied to books of which the date is certain. In the Koran it seems clear that the author thinks the Arabic name for "Christians," *Nasārā*, is derived from the verb *nasara*, "to help" (Sura iii. 45); but the geographer Yakut is aware that it means *Nazarenes*, *i.e.* the followers of Jesus of Nazareth; hence we infer that Yakut is later than the Koran—as he is indeed by more than six hundred years.

Secondly, are we saving the unity of Isaiah at the expense of his intelligence? Since this is a scientific inquiry, that question cannot be asked; however, in the case of Vergil, who is not only a great poet but a man of learning also, errors worse than those noticed have to be condoned. The island Inarima is acknowledged to be due to an erroneous reading of Homer's "in Arima." The wish, "let everything be the middle of the sea," is a *Verballhornung* of "may the whole course of nature be changed." Isaiah's geographical errors will have sufficient justification if they serve to save his date.

Thirdly, is the mention of the Lydians by Isaiah consistent with the statement of Assurbanipal (Rm. i. col. 2 line 96) that Lydia was "a far-off country, the mention of whose name the kings my fathers had never heard"—a formula which, it must be confessed, seems to be the basis of the phrase which follows in Isaiah—"the distant islands which have never heard the rumour of me"? Assyria, it must be remembered, was very much farther from Lydia than Palestine. The style in which Lydia is mentioned in that most interesting passage is not inconsistent with the supposition that the fame of Lydia may have reached Palestine a half-century before.

D. S. Margoliouth.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Holy Catholic Church.

No doctrine of the Catholic Faith has been more keenly debated than that which defines the Church; for while Christian people unite with their lips in saying, according to the final form of the fifth century, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," they differ widely in their hearts about the spiritual content of the words. There are some, both of

ancient and modern times, who have so exalted this belief that the Church has seemed to be the controller, and not merely one of the channels of the Divine Grace; to be a mediator between the human soul and Christ, not merely His servant for the help of the soul; to be the tyrant of the human reason, not merely the teacher which brings to that reason its most perfect light. Such persons have not intended to do despite unto the Lord whom they reverence, or any injury to the souls of His people whom they love, but rather to make Christ visible and to bring Him nearer to a faithless world by His body the Church, and to supply to Christ's disciples, walking by faith and suffering daily from the bondage of things seen, that audible voice and that tangible assistance which would be theirs if the Lord were visibly present in the world. No doubt there have been others who have exalted the Church in order that they might exalt themselves, and to whom the Body of Christ has simply been a worldly corporation—more opulent and exacting than the Roman Empire, because its authority was over the souls of men and its revenue only limited by their devotion to the Lord,—whose government they seized and whose material riches they exploited for their own benefit. "Let us enjoy the papacy," said Pope Leo X., that pure child of the Renaissance and baptized Pagan, "now that God has given it to us." Pope Leo, however, with the ambitious and sacrilegious ecclesiastics, whom he so perfectly represents, have been condemned by the consensus of the Christian Church, whose purity they outraged; and it were not just to cast this Simon Magus in the face either of Irenæus of the second century or Newman of the nineteenth century. Nothing has indeed been less worldly and selfish, nothing more pure and chivalrous, than the devotion of certain saintly persons to the Church, which is to their faith the Bride of their Lord and the Mother of their

soul; and if they have exceeded in this passion and have disturbed the balance of truth, it has been only through that limitation of the human intellect which finds it hard to preserve the proportion of faith, and through an admirable enthusiasm of love, which saw in His Church the continued Incarnation of their Lord.

Certain other persons—who are found in modern rather than in ancient times—have so reduced and emptied the idea of the Church that they seem to imagine it to be a voluntary society, created for the highest ends, such, for instance, as a Bible or Missionary Society, rather than an institution, founded and inhabited by our Lord Jesus Christ; a friendly fellowship created by the social instincts of men rather than the earthly home of the soul, builded and appointed by God; a private witness to spiritual things rather than the commissioned ambassador of the Most High. This modest idea of the Church has commended itself to many pious people, not by its dignity, or spirituality, in which qualities it is very deficient, but for two accidental, though no doubt influential reasons; because it affords no opportunity for what such persons would consider priestly usurpation, and sacramental superstition, and because it fits in with the theory of democracy and realizes that spirit of brotherhood which Christ certainly taught, and for which we all long. No doubt there are on this side of thought some to whom the Church is still less spiritual and indeed is nothing more than a philanthropic or ethical agency—distributing charitable aid to poor people, and teaching the less intelligent classes of the community that they must not steal or injure their neighbour; but here again it would not be fair to cast this arid and secular position in the face of a multitude of devout Christians, to whom the Church may after all be only a society, but to whom it is a society, wherein the disciples of the unseen Lord meet for the closest fellowship, and

which exists to preach the gospel of His person and His Cross.

When the atmosphere of the day is secular and what is supernatural is apt to be supposed untrue, it is inevitable that the Divinity of the Church of God should be as much suspected as the Deity of her head; and since Christian folk are unconsciously influenced by this time-spirit, it might be a good corrective to consider what place has been given to the Church in the Gospels and in the Epistles as well as by the Fathers and Theologians, the Mystics and the Saints of all ages. It is true that our Lord only twice refers to the body of His disciples under the name of the Church, but on one of the two occasions He declares that the Church is to be founded upon a rock, and that He Himself will build it; that the Church will be a fortress so outstanding that it will provoke the utmost strength of the powers of evil, but will be so impregnable that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Upon the other occasion he commanded that if any man had been wronged by his brother, and the offender would not listen to private remonstrance, an appeal should be made to the Supreme Authority; and that if he would not hear the Church, he was to be considered as a heathen man and a publican. The Lord also added that what the Church bound on earth should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever the Church loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven. If our Lord had made no other reference to His Church than in those two passages of St. Matthew's Gospel, then we were entitled to form the conclusion that the Church has been in some sense entrusted with the power and with the authority of God Himself. Readers of the Gospels will, however, remember that those two brief, but most weighty references of the Lord are supplemented and amplified by His teaching on the Kingdom. While our Lord mentions Church twice, He mentions Kingdom one hundred and

twelve times, and it goes without saying that the two words must be correlated before we can understand the mind of Jesus. This is a subject on which many learned persons have written and on which further light will always be welcome, but it is sufficient for my purpose to make a suggestion that the kingdom consists of men of a certain ethical character, together with the works which they do and the influence which they exert in human society; that the kingdom, therefore, has no limits except the race, and needs no organization: that it is secret, being within and not without a man; that it is subtle as a fragrance, viewless, like the wind, pervasive as the atmosphere, and yet visible in its effects of righteousness, joy, and peace. That the Church consists of the members of the kingdom united together in one body, which is organized and visible, whose members are bound together by a solemn covenant, and whose different duties are allotted to them by their Head; which has a mission to perform by visible means and an authority to exercise by appointed officers; which receives men into its fellowship, and nurtures them, and chastises them, and can even cast them out. The kingdom is as the Jewish people, scattered abroad without political institutions and without political status, but showing everywhere the same features of face, holding with all their soul their fathers' faith and keeping in their integrity the commandments of Moses. And the Church is the Jewish people, organized as a nation with the rights of citizenship, and a formal constitution, with the offices and the privileges and the obligations of a state. Anything, therefore, which Jesus said of the kingdom applies to the Church in her ethical and far-spread influence on human life. The Church is indeed the capital of the kingdom, where are gathered its riches and glory, its spiritual authority, and means of action. And, therefore, if any one thinketh lightly of the Church, he so far despises the kingdom of Heaven, which

Christ everywhere magnifies, declaring it to be a pearl of great price, for which a man would be wise to sell all that he had, and the great feast which God had prepared for all who would come.

When we leave the Gospels and cross the threshold of the Apostolic Scriptures, we find the Church filling the imagination and commanding the devotion of the holy writers. It is to the Church in the Acts of the Apostles that the Lord adds daily "such as are being saved"; it is to the Church that Paul and Barnabas rehearse all that God had done for them; again and again St. Paul salutes and greets the Church; he declares that by the Church the wisdom of God is made known, and mourns as his chief sin that he once persecuted the Church; for love of the Church Christ gave Himself, and He will not be satisfied till He has presented it unto Himself a glorious Church; and when St. Paul giveth glory unto God, Who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask of Him, it is "in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end."

From the days of the Apostles the Church of Christ has had a place second only to her Lord in the hearts of thoughtful and reverent men. Upon her august claims and gracious ministries, upon her spiritual glory and kindly shelter, the early Christian fathers expatiated with intense conviction and warm personal affection. With the sanction of Holy Scripture they called her by the most tender word in human speech—their Mother, and this title for the Church of Christ has never ceased from the speech of His disciples. "He cannot have God for his Father," Cyprian used to say, "who has not the Church for his mother." If it be thought that Cyprian may somewhat exceed in his churchly fashion, and if in the minds of some he be suspected through his exaltation of the holy ministry, then let such persons turn to Calvin's *Institutes* and read the fourth

book on the "Holy Catholic Church." Referring to the visible Church under her title of Mother, this great theologian and acute thinker writes: "There is no other means of entering into life unless she conceiveth in the womb and give us birth, unless she nourish us at her breast, and, in short, keep us under her charge and government until, divested of mortal flesh, we become like the angels." Again: "Beyond the pale of the Church no forgiveness of sins, no salvations, can be hoped for." "The abandonment of the Church," Calvin declares, "is always fatal," and he goes the length of saying "that all who reject the spiritual food of the soul divinely offered to them by the hands of the Church, deserve to perish of hunger and famine." Was it wonderful with this teaching before her mind that the Church of Scotland should have always held a just and worthy idea of the Church visible, and should have gladly accepted and always maintained the statement in the confession of faith, "Unto this Catholic Visible Church Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life to the end of the world, and doth by His own presence and Spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto"? No Church, and I do not except the Roman Church, has administered discipline with a more profound conviction of its spiritual utility and her own solemn responsibility for the souls which Christ purchased with His blood. "To these officers (that is, the officers of the Church) the keys of the kingdom of Heaven are committed," so runs the article in the Confession, "by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures; and to open it unto penitent sinners by the ministry of the Gospel, and by absolution from censure, as occasion shall require." Persons acquainted with the Church life in Scotland will know that

the Holy Table does not lie open there to unbelievers and evil livers, but is carefully "fenced" and guarded. A communicant—especially in country districts where life is simpler, and the traditions of the past stronger—will not approach the sacrament if living in any sin, but will confess the sin unto the minister, and invite the discipline of the Church; but it may not be known to many that the whole system of discipline is minutely and carefully regulated by law. That there are offences which cannot be dealt with by the minister and elders of the local Church, but have to be referred to the superior spiritual court, and that there is a graduated system of Church censure, "admonition," "rebuke," "suspension" from the sacraments, "suspension from office," where the person holds any office, "deposition" which is solemnly pronounced in the name of the Lord Jesus, and "excommunication." Such censures, when inflicted on right grounds, are declared to be "sanctioned and ratified" by the Church's Living Head in Heaven. Absolution is pronounced by the moderator in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and it is only granted when the person under discipline gives "hopeful evidence of penitence," and it is granted by the Church on the presumption that the offender has "obtained pardon through His atoning blood." Brilliant historians of an unbelieving and cynical temper, like Mr. Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*, may make themselves merry over the details of Church discipline, and wax indignant over the tyranny of the Scots clergy, but it remains a suggestive circumstance that an intractable and stiff-necked people, who have ever been jealous of their independence, and been willing to die rather than be slaves to any person, should have been so submissive to the Church. Perhaps it would be difficult to find a more convincing evidence of the majesty of the Church of Christ and her inherent claim upon the conscience of believing

people; while the high intelligence and practical ability of the Scots nation go to show that if the Church in that land has sometimes been a severe, as she has always been a faithful, Mother, she has been abundantly justified of her children.

It is surely also in this connexion a fact worthy of note that in proportion as the believer has been touched with the spirit of poetry, or, in other words, as his piety has been refined and sublimated, he has had a special vision of the beauty of the Church, and an intense devotion to her service. From beyond Jordan the lonely exile recalls the day when he went to the house of God with God's people, "with the voice of joy and praise, with the multitude that kept holyday," and his prayer is that God would send His light and His truth, and then would he go "unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy." Another saint cries out at the thought of the temple which was to him the home of God and the symbol of the Church, "How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!" and declares that he envies the happy birds which make their nests under the eaves of God's house. The faithful churchman of the former dispensation is glad when the time comes round that he shall go "into the house of the Lord," and he prays that "peace may be within her walls and prosperity within her palaces." When the captivity of the Church is turned, he is like them that dream, and far away by the rivers of Babylon he weeps when he remembers Sion. There is nothing on earth to him so strong as the Church "which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever," and this is the height of all blessing to see the good of Jerusalem all the days of his life. No doubt this and many another noble passage from the Psalmists and the Prophets, are the voice of poetry; but it is to be remembered that poetry and religion move in the same sphere, and those writers, being wonderfully inspired

by the Holy Ghost, expressed the emotion which stirred the mind of many a silent believer, but which he never could have caught and cast into words. The first songs of the New Testament Church were awakened by the Messiah of God, at Whose coming the heavenly host and the saints on earth burst into praise, and the last song shall also be "unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own Blood." For the risen Christ is the King of the Church, and to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Before, however, the New Testament Scriptures had been completed, the sacred muse was again fired with the ancient theme which had moved the chief singers of Israel. St. John, sick at heart as he looked out upon that ancient world, turned from Rome, the mistress of foul vice and the persecutor of saints, and being in the spirit, as men must be who can see such things, he beheld the "saints who had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," and the armies of Heaven clothed in fine linen, white and clean. He saw the holy city coming down from God out of heaven, and prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And at the sight of the holy Jerusalem, with her twelve gates of pearl, and her streets of pure gold, and her walls of jasper, and the glory of the Lord as her sun, the servant of Jesus Christ cut off from all fellowship save that of his Lord, and seeing no light anywhere save through the gates of the city, caught the glory of the Church, the Lamb's Wife, and was satisfied.

It has not been given unto the saints of later days to be touched with so heavenly a flame of inspiration, but they have not been indifferent to the excellent glory of the Church. Among the sons of the Church of England none appears to the writer to have more perfectly caught her spirit,—

> A fine aspect in fit array,
> Neither too mean, nor yet too gay,—

than the author of the *Temple*, and surely the wisest, gentlest, holiest pastor who ever cared for the souls of countryfolk. Within George Herbert the special affection of Hebrew piety seemed to revive, and all which belonged to the Church was dear to him and the sign of heavenly mysteries. From the Church porch and stile, from the Church lock and key and the Church floor, to the pulpit and the Communion Table, and ordained ministers, and the Holy Scriptures—everything was sacred, and he served her with the mingled devotion of a courtier to his queen and a son to his mother.

> I joy, dear mother, when I view
> Thy perfect lineaments and hue,
> Both sweet and bright:
> Beauty in thee takes up her place,
> And dates her letters from thy face,
> When she doth write.

Nor had our Scots saint and mystic Samuel Rutherford any less a love to Christ's Kirk, who through all his impassioned letters mourns less his own sufferings than the shame put on Christ's Bride, and would willingly be in bonds if the Church of Scotland went free.

That Christian has missed one of the most spiritual emotions of our faith who has not felt the fascination of the Church, which is above all controversies, behind all divisions, holier than all Christians, kindlier than any home; for which a man might be willing to die, which he ought to love even as he loveth Christ.

JOHN WATSON.

(To be continued.)

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

XVII. Litigation in the Corinthian Church, vi. 1–11.

The subject of chapter vi. had evidently been suggested, not by a formal question addressed to Paul by the Church,[1] but by some information which reached him. For the reasons already stated, we may assume with every probability that the information came to him through Stephanas and his two companions.[2] From them Paul learned that it was usual among the Corinthian Christians to take legal action against one another in the ordinary Pagan fashion, with Pagans to decide the points at issue, and that public feeling in the Church did not regard such procedure as unsuitable or unbecoming.

As before, the fault of the individual here springs from the tone of the Corinthian Church in general; and Paul's remarks are directed more to produce a healthier tone in the community as a whole than to rebuke the action of individuals. In fact, his expression in vi. 1 is put in such general and vague terms as to leave it uncertain "whether any particular case was in the apostle's mind at the time."[3] Dare any of you, having a matter against his fellow-Christian,[4] go to law before the unrighteous (*i.e.* the Pagans) instead of before the saints, the Christians?

Paul's words have not been correctly understood by

[1] It is not till chap. vii. that Paul takes up the questions laid before him by the Corinthians, though he has always in mind their words and arguments, i.–vi.

[2] See above § XIII.

[3] Quoted from Ellicott.

[4] τὸν ἕτερον, another of the same species or class, therefore a fellow-Christian, a good example of the strict sense of ἕτερος, contended for in *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, § XI. For an example (in addition to those there quoted) of the same distinction between ἕτερος, "a second of the same class," and ἄλλος, "belonging to a different class," see Demosthenes' *Olynthiac* iii. 18 (where Dr. Sandys has the note, ἄλλος, "anyone else," in general, ἕτερος, "a second speaker"). I am indebted to Mr. A. Souter for the quotation.

most commentators. Some seem to think that he orders the Corinthian Christians to appeal to Church courts instead of to the ordinary courts of law. But that is quite out of keeping both with his language here and with the whole tone of his teaching. He never expresses disrespect for the established institutions of the country and the empire, or advises that the Church should create a rival organization. He always teaches his converts to accept and make the best of existing institutions.

Others think that the alternatives in vi. 1 are different in character, and that the process before the Christians would be in the form of arbitration, while before the heathen it would be according to the legal forms then prevailing. But the expressions describing the two alternatives are so exactly parallel—*κρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων*, where both Pagans and Christians are designated by terms expressive of moral and religious character—that we cannot fairly think they describe different processes.

Paul here is not thinking of serious questions of crime and fraud so much as of the small matters, which persons of a litigious character—such as the Greeks were—are always ready to make into causes of disagreement and legal action. Now such small cases were ordinarily decided in Greece by umpires or arbiters chosen by the parties themselves. The expressions used throughout the passage suggest rather informal proceedings than formal trials on legal principles before judges (*δικασταί*). The terms used are *κρίνω*, *κρίνομαι*, *κριτήριον*, *κρίμα*, all of which are appropriate to cases tried according to the least strict procedure by umpires whom the parties select (*αἱρετοὶ κριταί*, *διαιτηταί*), and who decide, not according to formal written law (*νόμος*), but according to their own conception of right and wrong.

That Paul is not here thinking of serious and grave

matters, is clear from vi. 4, where, unfortunately, the Revised Version is far from good. (1) The subjects brought up for decision are called "matters of everyday life" (*βιωτικά*),[1] the trumpery details of common life, which afforded many opportunities for the Corinthian Greeks to quarrel about prices and ownership and so on. (2) The litigants set any persons they please as arbitrators to judge the individual cases;[2] the place where the arbitrator takes his position becomes the *κριτήριον*; the proceedings are *ex tempore*. Nothing suggests the "Public Arbitrators," who were chosen by lot in Athens by the magistrate in court from the permanent *Daitetai* (*κληρωτοὶ διαιτηταί*).

Some commentators, who insist that Paul is here referring throughout to formal legal procedure before courts of law, maintain that the word *κριτήριον* in vi. 2, 4 means "courts" or "tribunals." That is inconsistent with vi. 4, *βιωτικὰ κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε*, where the nominative is the litigating parties—"If ye have matters of common life to set before a *krites* for decision, select as arbitrators persons of no account in the Church."

But, Paul proceeds, vi. 7–11, It is quite a fault in you to find provocation to suits among yourselves. You ought rather to acquiesce patiently in (what you consider to be) unfair treatment or inadequate recognition of your rights. And along with that fault there always goes the other fault of unwillingness to recognise adequately the rights of others: "ye yourselves act unfairly and defraud, and that

[1] Modern commentators rightly reject, though in a somewhat hesitating way, the rendering that *βιωτικά* means "matters of this life," "secular," as distinguished from "matters of the other world" (implied, on that view, by the reference to judging angels): *βιωτικά* means trivial, commonplace (Luke xxi. 34).

[2] *τούτους καθίζετε* does not mean "make these (permanent official) judges," but "set these as arbitrators in the various cases, as they arise." Those commentators who hold that courts of arbitration among the Christians are here counselled, speak of such courts as if they were a purely Jewish institution But Paul is not here trying to induce the Greeks to accept a Jewish custom; he is referring to the ordinary Greek usage, only advising them to choose a Christian as an arbitrator in each case.

your brethren" (vi. 8). In the preceding paragraph I bade you refuse to associate with any one guilty of crime (v. 11). Now I remind you that all such are rejected by God. Those are the sins and faults of your former Pagan life; and in your new life you ought to have risen above them.

The fault to which the Greek nature was and is most prone is that which Paul calls πλεονεξία (rendered "covetousness" generally in the Revised Version,[1] and identified with "idolatry" in *Colossians* iii. 5), the tendency to insist on getting at least one's full rights, and therefore often even more than one's fair share. Carried to an extreme and combined with a low moral standard of action, it becomes that grasping, greedy, cunning kind of dealing which is, in modern estimation, associated unfairly with all Greeks, because it is a marked characteristic of some of the race. But even with a higher spirit and principles, the fault is not eliminated, and the Corinthian Christians had not shaken themselves free of it; they still, in their mutual dealings, were apt both to think that others were denying them a fair share, and, in their eagerness to get their full portion, to claim more from their neighbours than they had a right to.

In this passage it is clear that Paul is thinking rather of Greek than of Roman procedure. A similiar custom of using and choosing umpires to decide small cases existed originally in Rome; but in the more developed Roman procedure the umpires (*judices*, *arbitri*) were appointed by a magistrate, and even very simple cases involved a stage of formal legal procedure. Such was the almost universal rule under the empire wherever procedure was of the Roman type. But, as has elsewhere been pointed out,[2] the Romans never tried to force their own system of law and society on the Eastern provinces,

[1] Extortion in 2 *Corinthians* ix. 5 (covetousness in the margin).

[2] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, p. 206 f.

which had an old-standing civilization of their own; and doubtless even in Roman *Coloniæ* in the East procedure in unimportant civil cases was more Greek than Roman in the time of Paul.[1] Just as in South Galatia we found that the law presupposed by Paul's letter seemed to be of the Seleucid type (*i.e.* Greek modified by the conditions of an Oriental kingdom), so in Corinth we see that the law in private cases is of the Greek not the Roman character, freer and less formal. The people of Corinth would be likely to know more than most Greeks about Roman imperial law in great matters (see § XI.); but the ordinary life of the city at this time was evidently Greek rather than Roman (see § X.).

XVIII. Sequence of Topics, v.–vii.

It is characteristic of Paul that often, while treating one subject, he already has the following topic in his mind, and in the treatment of the first he is preparing and paving the way for the next. Thus he passes from one to the other, and even returns to the first after or during the discussion of the second. Every one of his Epistles has an extraordinary unity, as of a living body; each topic seems to be vitally connected with every other, and they melt into one another, so that the reader feels he cannot treat the Epistle except as a single organism where every part must be studied before any one is fully comprehended. *Galatians* is the most striking example of this; but all show the same characteristic.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians treats a far greater number of separate and distinct topics than any other of Paul's letters. Much of it is an answer to a series of disconnected questions addressed to him; and along with these are included a number of topics suggested to him in other

[1] There is a great lack of evidence about such matters in Eastern *Coloniæ*; but the above statement gives the probable fact. See *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, p. 206 f.

ways. Yet the epistle holds these various topics together by a bond of unity. It becomes a unified whole; and the unity lies in the strong, overpowering, determining idea in Paul's mind of the Corinthian nature and needs. The Epistle has the unity amid variety of Corinthian Church life as Paul saw it.

A good example of this is seen in chapters v. and vi. and vii. In v. the subject is a certain serious crime committed by one of the members of the Corinthian Church; in vi. it is the litigiousness of various members of that Church, and their fault in bringing their cases for decision by Pagans; in vii. the topic is marriage, celibacy, and immorality. But in v. 12, 13, the duty incumbent on the Church of judging the crime is mentioned in such a way as to slide into the topic treated in vi., while v. 9–11 touches the topics of vii. quite as closely as they do the main topic of v. Again, vi. 9 glides into a subject preparatory to the topics of vii. (which were already foreshadowed in v. 9–11), and vi. 12–20 discuss that subject at length.

XIX. Judging the World.

When we take these parts together, it is apparent that a certain discrepancy arises between vi. 2 f. and v. 12 f. In v. 12 f. Paul declares that the Church has nothing to do with judging the outer world: it judges its own members, and expels the unworthy from its midst, and it leaves the outer world to the judgment of God. But in vi. 2 f. he asks, "Do you not know that the saints shall judge the world? And if the world is judged by you, can you not find among your fellow-Christians persons worthy to judge the insignificant matters of everyday life about which you dispute before heathen arbiters? In reality, you should choose the humblest members of the Church to arbitrate in those small matters." [1]

[1] Follow the marginal translation of the Revised Version, taking καθίζετε as an imperative.

But the passage vi. 2, 3 is not entirely serious. In vi. 4, 5, the Apostle goes on to say that they ought to choose those who are of no account in the Church to act as arbiters in such insignificant matters, which are unworthy to occupy the time and attention of more important members of the Church. And then he explains that he "says this to move you to shame"; his words are not to be taken as serious advice. The undertone of sarcasm, almost of banter, is to be understood as ruling throughout vi. 2–4.

This becomes all the clearer when we remember the principle already laid down,[1] that we should be ready to suspect Paul is making a quotation from the letter addressed to him by the Corinthians whenever he alludes to their knowledge, or when any statement stands in marked contrast either with the immediate context or with Paul's known views. These criteria mark vi. 2, 3 as an allusion to some very self-satisfied expressions in the Corinthian letter: "Of course you know that the saints shall judge the world, and even angels (is it not written in your letter?)."

The commentators who take vi. 2, 3 as a serious description of the future powers and duties of Christians are hard pressed to find any really satisfactory explanation of the words as expressing a principle to which Paul attached any importance. Any one who works out for himself a connected conception of Paul's views about the place of man in God's universe must either tacitly leave out of sight those two verses, or must say, as we do, that they are not to be taken as a serious philosophic enunciation. It is usual among those who take vi. 2, 3 seriously to quote *Matthew* xix. 28 and *Luke* xxii. 30 in illustration; but those passages only show how impossible it is to attach

[1] See § XIII. p. 207 (Feb.).

any serious importance to this one, though they may have probably been in the mind of the Corinthians when they wrote the sentences which Paul is quoting or alluding to.

XX. Purity and Immortality, vi. 12–20.

Throughout the letter Paul has before his mind a clear picture of the general position and difficulties and surroundings in which the Corinthian Church was situated. He is never so occupied with any of the details which he successively takes up, as to lose sight of the bearing of each on the general state of the congregation. He sees that the prime necessity is to raise the general standard of moral judgment; and that the correction or punishment of isolated errors and crimes can do little good, until the Church as a whole is placed on a higher moral level. Some members of the Church, at least, had been criminals of the worst kind in their Pagan days (vi. 11), not so very long past; and, though they have washed themselves,[1] and been sanctified, yet the past habit and the pressure of surrounding society make a serious and continual danger.

Especially was the danger great in the direction of purity of life; and to this subject Paul returns time after time. The obligation to a pure life must be constantly urged on the Corinthians. The frankly confessed and universally held theory on the subject in Pagan society was that every requirement of the body was in itself natural and right and ought to be satisfied fully and healthily in whatever way and time and manner the individual found convenient, the only standard applicable for judging the individual's conduct

[1] It is hard to see why Canon Evans and several other commentators should insist that ἐλούσασθε cannot mean "washed yourselves," but must be rendered "washed away your sins." One can understand that the Corinthian Christians "washed themselves," but it is not easy to see how any but Divine power could be said to "wash away their sins." That λούομαι means *lavo me, lavor*, is a general belief of scholars, and rule in lexicons; and even Canon Evans, excellent scholar as he was, cannot, by a mere dictum unsupported by proofs, overturn it.

lying in considerations of physical health and beauty. The same principle was applied to purity of life as to food and nourishment: in neither case was there any standard according to which the conduct of men should be judged except consideration of the physical health of the individual; so long as any action was pleasant to the individual and did not injure in any way his physical well-being, it was right.

Against this theory, accepted in all Pagan society, and perhaps not quite obsolete in the Church at Corinth, Paul argues in the paragraph before us, and his argument is that of a mystic. It is true that the standard of judgment as regards feeding is purely one of physical health and beauty (vi. 13); but food and the body as an organ for assimilating food are alike transitory and perishable. On the other hand, the body as a vehicle of life and spirit is eternal and imperishable; and its proper function in this respect lies in its relation to God, not in individual satisfaction.

This doctrine must be taken in connexion with the teaching of chapter xv. on the immortality of the body. The physical body is not immortal, but the body as spiritual is immortal. Purity of life is in the closest relation with the spiritual character of the body, and is the prime condition of spirituality: other sins do not affect the spiritual nature of the body, but impurity destroys it (vi. 18).

The doctrine is also closely connected with Paul's conception of true marriage as the most perfect symbol of the relation between Christ and the Church, between the divine and the human life (see Eph. v. 23, 29 f.); and thus the paragraph before us forms the natural transition to the subject of chapter vii. (according to the custom of Paul, p. 277 f.).

That the outspoken naturalism of the Pagan theory against which Paul argues was not entirely abandoned in the Corinthian Church is, perhaps, proved by his opening words, vi. 12: "All things are lawful to me," as you say in your letter, but one should add that it is not true

that all things are advantageous. "All things are under my power," as you say, but one should add that, "I will not let myself be brought under the power of anything." The Corinthians had boldly stated in their letter, and had turned to their own use—of course with a view to full Christian freedom—the philosophic doctrine that "man is the measure of all things," that the individual is master of his surroundings and of his fate. Turned to a Christian application, this doctrine naturally suited their exuberant satisfaction with themselves and with their steady development and improvement. Along with it they had used the other expression quoted by Paul in viii. 1: "We know that we all have knowledge," to which he so often alludes throughout the Epistle.[1]

Paul saw clearly the dangerous extremes to which this doctrine was liable to be pushed; and the fact that he quotes it at this point suggests that he believed it to have been used, or to be likely to be used, by his correspondents in the way indicated and combated in vi. 13 ff. In fact, it is natural to suppose that the words, "meats for the belly, and the belly for meats," are quoted from the mouth of the Corinthians; and the argument is turned aside by Paul thus: "You say that each part of the body has its natural function, and is rightly directed to the performance thereof, but you forget the distinction between what is perishable, and what is permanent in the body." If that be true, then the Corinthians must have mentioned that naturalistic theory, either urging it as true or professing their inability to refute its logical consequences.

The commentators quote various passages from ancient writers to show that Corinth was a specially vicious city. It may be doubted, however, whether there was much difference between the tone there and in the Ægean world generally.

[1] Wherever Paul says "you know," or "know ye not?" the Corinthians would be reminded of their claim to possess universal knowledge.

The serious danger lay, not in any excess of vice there [1] —for excess tends rather to produce a reaction in the opposite direction—but in the low moral standard that was practically universal in society. Paul is not arguing against the criminality of a Nero, but against the naturalistic theories of educated, thinking, and comparatively well-living men.

XXI. Marriage.

Chapter vii. is difficult and, to the historical student, disappointing. It is disappointing because, though it treats of marriage—a subject peculiarly well adapted to throw light on the state of society in Corinth—yet the treatment is so general as to give little information about the Corinthians in particular. It is difficult, because Paul is here answering a question which had been addressed to him by the Church in Corinth, and his reply and arguments are evidently influenced much by the terms in which the question was stated and the ideas on the subject revealed thereby among the Corinthians; yet the reply gives no very clear evidence as to the terms and tone of the question.

There are not many passages in Paul's writings that have given rise to so many divergent and incorrect views as this chapter. Some of those views relate to the practical conclusions to be drawn from the chapter, as, for example, that celibacy and monasticism were recommended by the Apostle as the ideal system of life for those who are strong enough morally. Others relate to his own situation in life. Was he a widower, or had he never been married? In the course of the chapter he several times mentions his own example and his own condition; and it is still a matter of keen debate whether his words imply that he had been

[1] In all the great centres of travel and trade, the same results were likely to be produced in an age when every inn was also practically a house of ill-fame but that state of things lasted into late mediæval times.

married or not. Now, if Paul had been discussing the question whether it is better to marry or remain single, it is hardly conceivable, in view of his direct, uncompromising and emphatic way of stating his opinions, that he should, in quoting his own example, speak so vaguely as to leave such an issue uncertain. He would either make no reference to his own example, or he would so speak of it as to leave it clear on which side his example told (see § XXII.).

But it is clear that the question which was in his mind was not whether marriage or celibacy is the better way of life, and that he does not quote his own case as an example and pattern whether one should marry. When he mentions himself here, he is not thinking of that, and therefore his words do not permit any sure inference on the point. To treat this chapter as if the question under discussion were the comparative advantages of marriage and celibacy, is to approach it from the wrong point of view, and misinterpretation is unavoidable.

Moreover, on that commonly accepted view, the whole passage, vii. 1 ff., suggests a conception of the nature and purpose of marriage that is very far from lofty or noble, as if marriage were a mere concession to the weakness of human nature, to save mankind from worse evil. But such a conception is irreconcilable with Paul's language elsewhere: such was not his attitude towards marriage. As we have seen in the preceding section, marriage was in his estimation the type of the union between Christ and the Church, and therefore on the highest plane of ideal excellence and purity.

Now, as we have seen,[1] we must be disposed to suspect quotation or allusion to views and arguments of the Corinthians, when we find in this Epistle statements that stand in marked contrast with Paul's known opinions elsewhere. He expressly mentions in vii. 1 that he is taking up a topic

[1] See above, p. 207 and p. 279.

at the point where the Corinthians had left it; and his words would be so understood by them. We must try to take the subject up at the same point; but it is not easy to restore the words of the lost letter.

The crucial point in the whole passage is the opening statement: "It is good for man not to come into connexion with woman."[1] Evidently this is said in relation to a Corinthian statement or question. In rightly catching the nature of that statement or question lies the key to the interpretation of the crucial point.

Comparison of two other passages will throw some light on this statement, alike through the resemblances and through the differences.

(1) vii. 38. So then both he that giveth his own virgin daughter in marriage doeth well; and he that giveth her not in marriage shall do better.[2]

Here there is a distinct, positive statement, followed by a comparison between two courses of action: one is good, but another is better. But to express the comparison a comparative degree is necessary. Now in vii. 1 there is only the positive degree, *καλόν*: and we must infer that the meaning is not (as many readers assume), "it is better for man not to marry, but by a concession to weakness marriage is permitted." Such a meaning would require the use of the comparative degree. In fact the analogy of vii. 38 would rather suggest that vii. 1 implies "it is good to avoid marriage, but better to marry."

We observe, also, that a wrong meaning is often drawn from vii. 38. Paul does not there say, "it is good for a maid to marry, but better for her not to marry." What he says is very different: "it is good for a father to seek out a husband for his daughter, but better not to seek out a

[1] *καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι.*

[2] *καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν παρθένον ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖσσον ποιήσει.*

husband for her: there is no reason why the father should regard it as his bounden duty to give her a husband: he is quite justified if he leaves her in her unmarried state: it is good, it is not wrong, for a woman to be unmarried."

Must we not see here a gentle plea for individual right of judgment? Paul would not interfere with the established rule of society, that it is the parent's place to seek a husband for the daughter; but he adds the proviso that there is no inexorable duty placed on the parent to find a husband for her: it is even better if the father puts no compulsion on his daughter.

(2) vii. 39, 40. If the husband be dead, the wife is free to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she abide as she is, after my judgment.[1]

Here again we observe that when the two states, second marriage and avoidance thereof, are compared, the comparative degree is used. Also, the avoidance of second marriage is declared to be, not better, but happier. Paul's own judgment—which he believes to be influenced by Divine inspiration (vii. 40)—tells him that such is more likely to lead to true happiness; but he will place on the widow no shadow of compulsion in the way of duty.

From these cases the inference is clear. In vii. 1 ff. Paul lays down the principle: "it is good, it is permissible, it is not wrong, for man to remain unmarried provided absolute purity is observed." That condition, however, was so difficult in Greek society, that the Apostle is obliged to go on, verse after verse, urging the immense advantage of married life from that point of view, but not at all implying that the essential feature of marriage lies therein.

The point of view, then, which Paul assumes in vii. 1 is that marriage is not an absolute duty, but is relative to

[1] ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ. μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν.

the individual nature and character. Each individual man or woman must judge for himself or herself whether it conduces to the perfecting of their life to marry. There is no moral principle constraining them to marriage: on the contrary, it is a fine thing, an excellent thing, to remain unmarried (vii. 1–8).

That point of view seems to imply that the Corinthians had put the question whether the view widely entertained alike among Jews and Pagans—that every one ought to marry in the ordinary course of life at the proper age—was correct. Paul strongly discountenances that view: marriage is not an obligation imposed by society and by nature on all persons. The individual is here master of his fate, and ought to judge for himself, and be answerable only to his own conscience. We see here a claim for the emancipation of the individual judgment from the bonds that society had imposed on it. Freedom is Paul's ideal; but he dare not use the word so much to the Greeks—always predisposed to lawlessness, to the over-exaltation of the rights of the individual, and to over-assertion of the principle that "all things are lawful unto me"—as he could to the submissive and slavish Phrygians.[1]

It is not improbable that the Corinthians actually quoted the public law, as it existed under the Roman Empire. It is at least highly probable, and indeed practically inevitable, that they were thinking of that legal duty. The legislation of Augustus had been directed to encourage marriage. By a succession of laws[2] that Emperor had endeavoured to make marriage universal, had imposed penalties of growing severity on the unmarried, and had bestowed honours and privileges on the parents of a family. The Emperor's aim was, undoubtedly, lofty and noble:

[1] See *Hist. Comm. Gal.* p. 443.

[2] Lex Julia B.C. 18, repeated in severer form as Lex Papia Poppaea.

he sought to check the modern tendency to immorality and profligacy, and to restore the old Roman purity and simplicity of family life. Society approved in theory his principle, which in practice it disregarded. His method was that of compulsion.[1]

So also the Jewish practice not merely urged marriage as a universal duty, but attached honours and privileges to marriage; *e.g.*, one could not be a member of the Sanhedrin unless one were both married and a parent.

The theory of the empire was that the Emperor was the father and director and counsellor of all his subjects: the Emperor told them what to do, and it was their part to pay implicit obedience to all his orders. Against that theory Christianity protested: it claimed the right of individual judgment. Paul fully sympathized with the aim of Augustus, and he also entirely recognised that family life is the most effective check to immorality (vii. 2–9). But, as in all his teaching, so here, he advocates freedom. All should judge for themselves, and undertake voluntarily the duties of marriage only after full consideration, if they think it best: no compulsion should be put on them, either by giving superior honours to the married, or by putting discredit on the unmarried: the only discredit lay in profligacy: it is quite honourable to be unmarried, if one lives a pure life.

If we have rightly apprehended the character of the question addressed to Paul by the Corinthians, then it follows that the common view is erroneous. It is commonly said that the section of the Church in Corinth which "was of Cephas" upheld marriage because Cephas was married, while the section which "was of Paul" argued that single life was better, because Paul was either un-

[1] Marriage was a condition, undoubtedly, for the priesthood in the Imperial cultus: man and wife were appointed high priest and high priestess, as is shown by many inscriptions.

married or a widower; and their dispute was referred to the Apostle for decision. We have already seen that much of the theorizing as to the doctrines held by the four supposed parties in Corinth proceeds on a wrong interpretation of Paul's words; and that the parties were not nearly so definitely opposed to one another as those theories assume. Now we find that the question propounded to Paul by the Corinthians was not "is it better to marry or not?" but rather "is it to be regarded as a duty incumbent on Christians to marry, as the Jews and the Roman law maintain?"

W. M. Ramsay.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

IV.

"The Choice of a Side."

(Gen. xxxix. 1–20.)

It is interesting and suggestive to reflect that this picturesque moral story, before it was in any book, would be doing for generations the same work as, within the verses and leaves of our Bible, it is now doing for us. The larger event and the lesser incidents of the life of Joseph were divinely arranged and grouped by time and place, so that the mark of God's presence and purpose in it might be seen plain and indelible. The tale, as it was told from lip to lip, would carry God with it into people's thoughts and lives. It would educate the human soul. Children would receive from it their earliest sense of a world where there is peril and pain, and their "first mild touch of sympathy"; and the youth would be taught by it that goodness and purity and truth are a safe defence. The facts would fall into the memory like seeds, and the spiritual life which they contained would there germinate and strike;

then they would spring up in new imaginative shape and hue, and, as they grew, they would entwine themselves with people's lives. The story was, in this way, ethical before it was Biblical; and now, because it is Biblical, it is none the less, but all the more, and it is to all time, ethical. The supersensuous element in Joseph's life here plays around a set of languid powers in our being, and awakens and reminds; and that prevailing force of good which came to him, not by lineage and descent, but from alliance with God, and which, far from being a natural product of the human organism, had to contradict and thwart instinct and impulse in a large area of his nature, is not created by this Scripture, but only here receives Divine recognition and new sanction and reinforcement. When drought has parched a land, the rains from heaven are sent down to do more than refresh what is weary; they bring a larger blessing, for they reach down to the secret power of nature's own wells and stir them to fuller flowing. Such is the power of the Bible's inspiration from on high upon this simple story of a human life in the long ago.

To get the current, in order the more easily to follow the meaning among these verses, we may fall back on the narrative till we feel the pressure of what we have already read. We know something of Joseph's training at home; something of his open face and straightforward gait; something of his felicity and speed; something of his nerve and muscle; and something also of the arena, down in Egypt there, where the Fates have even now entered his name. We have even seen already, though at the time we knew not why, the stripping off him of the coat of many colours—the pleasant garment of home-life and home-love in which a father's fond affection last swaddled him. For home-care does not help or count, it rather entangles and hinders, when a young man steps forward into the wrestling-ground; he may wear the memory of home

like a favour on his heart, but no hand or heart of home can win him one point in his fell tussle in the ring. He must begin by putting off every suggestion of coddle and leading-strings; and in absolute self-reliance, stripped to the skin, he must give or take his fall. The Bible writes up Joseph as an ideal moral athlete; and here we see him with picturesque distinctness in every line of limb and frame receiving his first challenge; and before a more serious foe, as truly as David before Goliath, our stripling will lose or win according to the man he is. The great game is only now about to begin, and, behold! how "great a cloud of witnesses!" The whole world is interested in Joseph! and here we see him choose his colours and take his side!

"Joseph was brought down into Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmaelites." The boy was bought and sold in the open market; he himself had no more say in the matter than dumb, driven cattle have; he would not know his own price, fast though his large black eyes flash from the lank brown Ishmaelites who own him to the Egyptians, grave as bronze, with whom they chaffer. A bonnie boy, we ween, as ever was turned into money in the public street! Light and lissome rather than broad or big, the head built more on the arch than the square, the look one of open-eyed wonder rather than of surprise, and the whole of him from head to foot obedient to a central will—no nerve twitching, no joint loose, no muscle off duty! Potiphar bought him for a servant in his own house; and we wish we could paint our glimpse of him as we seem to see him turn round and go up the street with that officer of war leading him—as innocent and willing as a lamb, and yet with the suppressed swiftness and strength of a tame panther in his alert and supple step. We may well hold our breath in a moment's awe when

the door of one house in the street closes upon him; for he is being taken within to be tempted of the devil, and there at a lonely hour and in a solitary place his tempter will come to him.

"The Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man." Outstandingly, and as all the world says, Joseph was a man of *genius*—as distinctively a type of genius as Abraham, solitary and indefinite in an almost Hegelian mystery, is the type of faith—ever, in vague grandeur, rising up into the blue infinite and in communion with the stars of eternity; or, as Isaac is the type of the contemplative man, shy and quiet in his going out and coming in, busy only among his own thoughts and with his own feelings, the Wordsworth of the ancient faith; or, as Jacob is the type of the shrewd business man, worldly-wise first and "other-worldly" afterwards. Quite as distinct and separate as all these others is Joseph, the Bible's type of genius, perfectly master of himself and his circumstances, doing and saying the right thing with the immediateness and ease of instinct; a man to whom, wherever he was, everybody referred and deferred, and yet graceful and gracious, and even child-like in it all. The Hebrew way of putting it is to say, "The Lord was with him"; and doubtless in a certain supreme sense "The Lord *was* with Joseph." For great world-issues were at stake in the immediate future; famines were coming on and nations were to be in pain, and a new nation was to be born and to be laid on the lap of Egypt and nursed there till it was strong. New junctures and departures were imminent in history, and God needed a *man* to take care of His world. Joseph was that man; and he was specially endowed with capacity and intellect adequate to a crisis, for he was to be at the helm while God steered the earth round a wintry cape. Still no one must lift this life too high above the level of his own, nor overshadow it too much under some mysterious near-

ness to God. In his rare equipment for life and work—with an eye of insight and a hand of irresistible silent pressure among circumstances—the Lord was with Joseph just as He may be with the simplest of ourselves when we leave our father's house and prepare to act our own little part in the world. "Lives of great men all *remind* us"; and, in so far as the Lord was with him, Joseph was a little child who feared to take any steps alone, who confided in God and told Him everything, who kept by His side and asked for help in every trouble and difficulty. It was Jehovah, the God of Presence and Promise, the God of his father and his home, who was with Joseph in that perilous house in Egypt. It was well that he had not there a God to seek and find; the quest thence would have been a defenceless one across the parallels and trenches of the foe; and, if a father can do no more, he can at least so live and influence a son at home that he will start on life with his father's God by his side or at his call. But this truth has double edges, and cuts two ways at once. For whatever be a man's deepest motive and his most constant thought and intent in daily life, that is his religion, and therein you will find his God—noble or ignoble, exalting or degrading him silently all the time. Thus is made the atmosphere of the home, and therein young character grows with a bias so determined that sometimes a youth seems as if he had to accept his fate rather than make his choice of a side.

"And Joseph's master saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper"; and "the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake"; and "Joseph was a goodly person and well-favoured." From these words there steps out and there stands forthright a very distinct personality. The background is black enough; he emerges from thick clouds, but he is radiant and mature; his limbs as if bred for

courtesy, and his looks as if not a sin lived within him. His strength is quiet and equally spread all over him with a Grecian grace; and, though he shows no sword, there is a sword belt on his waist. There are "manners" that "maketh" this man; and, in touches that are transmitted through that outward hue and likeness which men call celestial and have deified, we feel the fine magnetism which plays from his reticent strength. A man is before us of fascination as well as of power, with no more absolute mastery of circumstances than with that subtle spell-like influence over men which Goethe has called *dæmonic*, and which is an attribute of the rarest genius. A man who was felt to be good as well as great; a man to be loved as much as trusted; a man whom children would draw to and play with as naturally as counsellors and kings would call to and consult. This is the kind of man that Joseph was; and yet the Lord sent this man into Egypt, and has had him there sold for a servant! This shining life was tethered and harnessed to drudge and obey in a profane house; any one who called at Potiphar's door might have seen this splendid presence at some mean task. And yet, perhaps, only they who could forecast the ages and foresee the Christ could have understood this life and beheld its glory.

We do meet from time to time a man of this kind; we may come upon him even in unlikely places. There are men who in every environment of circumstances can get the keys into their grasp and do anything they please, who are natural overseers in the house of life, so that other men leave all they have in their hand, who are never excited, and never hesitate, and never seem to have put forth all their strength, who act and seem never to need to review or repent of or adjust what they have done, and who are indeed supreme in all their work and way. More rarely we meet those who combine that power with an inexpressible

ease and sweetness, who work in a clear atmosphere of grace, or beget a halo around them if they walk in mist, and who make us feel their charm even more than their strength. Some influence mystic and spiritual quivers around them; it is the token of other worlds that is upon them; and while they lay one stout hand on circumstances and affairs, with another they touch men's souls, and so allay fears and win confidence that no one disputes or interferes. Some such mysterious power over men and circumstances seems to have been with Joseph. There was a suggestion of the supernatural about him—a dash of inspiration in his word and method. Potiphar saw and said that a God was with him; a light from within seemed to shine out and open up his way before him; he *believed* and therefore he spoke; he saw, as if by a flash of the Divine, the right thing to do, and he did it with one stroke. No wonder that a slave lad like this in Potiphar's kitchen should soon have everything in the house in his hands; and, by the way he holds and handles keys of iron and brass there, he will show that he is meant to handle golden keys in larger rooms elsewhere.

As we here read, we may realize the adaptation of the Bible to men in all their condition and circumstance. Like the Bible itself, this life of Joseph is laid out at different levels; the narrative is graduated and brought near us whatever our position and power in life may be. The genius of this man at its far range and height may be beyond our reach and our calling, but there are many levels in our life where goodness and patience and character can do all that genius could, where virtue indeed *is* genius. The administration of a kingdom, or the interpretation of dream fantasy to the reading of the Divine purposes may be far beyond the level of most of us; but here is success below stairs, the swift foot, the immediate hand, the faithful eye and the valiant heart all instant and sworn to duty,

and these work a Divine miracle in the midst of drudgery. Goodness is God's commoner and yet more precious endowment; He puts this power of being good, and thus of doing good, into every one's hands everywhere; He means us all to covet earnestly this best gift. The path of progressive human life is up the stairs of God, and these "slope through darkness"; we never can see far ahead; the white marble way upwards has to be scaled one step at a time. But we are sure that if Joseph had not been good at this meaner level of life, he had failed to be truly great at any higher. Duty done by him under these humble conditions brings the word of his life very nigh to us all; and we have grand alliance in our endeavour, and great heights before and not beyond us, whenever we address ourselves to duty. Character was proved in this instance in obscure and disheartening service, and then Joseph's name was enrolled on the lists for promotion. To be good is the surest way to do good; to be blessed is the surest way to carry a blessing into any room of the great Master's house; and to plant one's foot firm and square upon the step of duty which God has placed there just before one is the true way to ascend to life's diviner honours. The one talent doubled by Joseph in slave service was an earnest of the ten talents by the throne with the ten talents more.

The narrative of God's word always leads along some line of interesting human circumstance to some intenser incident of moral interest and moment. This battle with his luck, his valour in adversity, make Joseph a hero with us all; and his comeliness and grace, as he glides through the rooms of the Egyptian house, with shapely limbs and shining face, fling a fine *glamourie* around him as if he were a young god in banishment. But circumstances and manners are only small dust on the balance when the man himself must be weighed; they are nothing accounted of when God makes His assay of a man's soul. A human life

may be beset and driven, may seem even to be overwhelmed, by circumstances; it may be mercilessly beaten back and reversed by adverse fate; but a man's fate can never be his doom. Even in slave bonds and at slave tasks he may be a prosperous man, and may be unfolding a victorious strength. Men test and prove the Damask sword before the battle by bending point to hilt in sorest strain, and they pass a line of searching electric fire through each link of the cable chain when the ship must face the stress of roughest weather; and God tries and tests all His men ere He lays His work heaviest on them. He puts the strain of eternity upon their soul. So did He with Joseph in the house of Potiphar; and thence, after his lonely jousts with sin day after day renewed, and the one terrific hour of onset in which everything crashed except his own invincible soul, Joseph came forth approved, God having stamped His own likeness secretly on his soul, and with—for finer outward eyes to see—God's aureole on his brow.

To every man there comes some such spiritual crisis as that in the life of Joseph, of which these verses tell. Things thicken around every human soul to serious stress and issue. Things are to be far more decisive than for long they seem to be. There is much spiritual secret hidden in the three short words "day by day" in one of these verses. Far-travelled armies are encamped for tournament and war around every human life; and we may, in our little environment of a cottage and a garden, try to live apart and be undisturbed in our happy seclusion. But "day by day" we are drawn into acquaintance and responsibility in relation to what is involved. There is many a brush between the foes before they fall on one another in force. We cannot but know what is going on. The instinct of the soul does much fine scouting and feels the enemy entrenched. The eyes that are the haunts of lust do much signalling "day by day" in adulterous air, and the eye of

purity will detect and be alert. The whole Divine scheme of life would be frustrated if men could be made or marred for eternity in one sudden moment. They are not to be surprised into either life or death; the choice is deliberate and after much sign and warning. Yet why are we amazed when we hear the bugle blown and ourselves involved in the press of the battle? Day by day we may hear the two voices calling in our soul; we take our daily rounds in the familiar garden ground which we have enclosed and to which we think ourselves entitled, and we see the two diverging paths that lead afar, and we toy with the two gates that swing to our hand. Evil may call us there, and good impulse may recall us, and we may linger long indecisively oscillating between good and evil in an easy and trifling way. But too much and too serious is involved to admit of this going on always. Indeed we are choosing secretly and gradually "day by day"; and, if in no calmer way, we shall find ourselves actually involved sooner or later with all the whirl and press of the fray around our own soul. Every soul is a prize, and will be fought for if it be not surrendered. Satan desires to have it, and Jesus wishes it for God; and it is our own choice and our own word that will determine this great contest and fix our fate. Wise is the man who soon and deliberately makes choice of his side in life, comes to a decision on his oath as to the two paths which lead out from his own little lot in life, and says once and for all "yes" and "no" to himself, in face of the two king masters and the two eternities.

Joseph made a splendid choice when he took unto him the white armour of an invincible moral valour and put it on. Yet one of the most bewildered moments in any noble human life in our strange world must have been his when "he fled and got him out." But whither was he to go? He did not want to escape; he was guilty of nothing. It must have been with a divine sense of insult and wrong

that he surrendered to those, inspired by a woman's lie, who were sent to take him; and yet it would be with a majestic self-possession that he stood forward and yielded, as if saying, "Whom seek ye? I am he." What faith he must have had! and what a sense of a Divine Presence by his side, if he did not waver when he knew that there was not one in all that land of exile to listen to his word of truth, and if he did not falter when his victory on the heights of God was succeeded by captivity in a prison cell —one little cruel hand closing its door and turning its lock. Surely God's good angels must have closed their ranks very swiftly around to sustain and reinforce this man's soul, when sin won temporarily this base success. This is not defeat; it is one of God's victories—a victory by the cross. There was victory in his soul; and defensive alliance there with the power of the eternal. He has kept for God His Thermopylæ; he has fought his own Bannockburn; he has purchased the glorious liberty for himself in all the land of life, and no walls or bars of man will daunt or bind him. These bonds and that imprisonment cannot lessen by one jot his divine prestige; and he can look himself and God and all the world in the face. He is still unconquered; he is the captive of no foe; and henceforward he cannot ever be defeated, for he has conquered himself, and he is sworn to God.

The lessons of this whole passage seem to be laid out along two different levels. There are high enough lessons for every-day and ordinary duties; and also lessons for the hours when life is condensed into the amaze and press of a spiritual agony; and those high duties here form a sort ot substratum upon which these highest rest. We may read and learn at both levels.

The immediateness and thoroughness with which Joseph buckled to his work as a house slave come down the ages to us "as if a voice were in them." They say aloud with

a fine moral *timbre* in their tone, "Work, and despair not!" In the most chaotic circumstances Joseph acts as if God had set him there, and as if he was working in the dark with God in the evolution and shaping of some Divine good. The game of life seemed lost ere he had got it begun; he seemed set where he had not even a chance. Yet he began, and he tackled the menial service of his master the Egyptian's house, as if in the face of the impossible the passion of success was breathed into his soul. This was genius, ye say; but if ye, any of you, have the Lord with you, ye all may have this genius. A God-inspired life rides its boat on the crest of storms; it never quarrels with circumstances; it never loses heart; it never doubts itself; it does not know the impossible. Everything was, at first and for long enough, against Joseph except himself and his God—the calm as much as the storm. But even when for many days no sun or star appeared, and in mist and darkness his life lay becalmed and no effort availed, yet his compass is always true, and tells him where the Divine is; his steering apparatus is strong; his keel is deep and steady, and his mast still points to the zenith. Though storm come and he be whirled round and round, and swept here and driven there, yet you will find him as soon as ever he may drawing himself together and settling himself to duty. The most adverse circumstances do not justify negligence or neglect. No man was ever more wronged than Joseph. Every wheel seemed to turn against him. His life was driven from its orbit; the ordinary lines of justice and fairness were in his chart of life not marked; and he might have deemed himself destined to wreck. But he never for a moment loses his equilibrium or steers carelessly. He cannot resist the stormsweep of forces, but he moves like an inspired planet with a mild radiance—steady to its centre and right within itself. He has been caught in all the cross currents that could well run, but there is always

a grand competency in him, a splendid composure in his life. Landed in the most unlikely, treacherous circumstances, he almost at once rights himself and rises to the occasion; he accepts the situation and makes the best of it. Call it not genius! it is genius and more! "The Lord is with him."

We may impress ourselves with this as a principle of action. Never quarrel with circumstances! Make the best of every set of hard circumstances! Let us believe that God is in every chance that befalls us; and, against the seemingly most hopeless odds, let us stand up to duty! This principle is a mainstay of life in a world where the cards seem to beat all the players, where circumstances are often too strong for the strongest, and where, like the wind on the sea, the spirit of an age seems sometimes to retard the tide of the world. No man ever gets quite the post he would have chosen in life; yet no man gets past his duty. The shortest and easiest, as well as the longest and most twisted, paths only bring a man face to face with duty; and though we were but scullion slaves in an Egyptian kitchen, God's orders are given us there, and we dare neither be idle nor be negligent. If we have but to stand with our face to a bare, black wall—if *such* is our post of duty—we must stand as if *God* had set us there; the Lord will be with us, and even there, in every deep and Divine sense of the word, we shall be *prosperous*.

More or less of strain and trial come into every life; the strife and conflict in life are the condition of all its virtue. Promotion here is as with soldiers; in all the high places you will find the men who have been in the thick fight and who have the scar on their face and the stain on their scabbard. For God administers His world after a severe military order, yet not so sternly but that the gentle soul may be the firmest hero after all. The life of each of us must have more than the heroic in it, inasmuch as it stands

up to duty at God's call everywhere; we must have, in deeper recesses of our being than where men see, the inextinguishable life of God. More needs to be done than that a man be sheathed in armour, and go safe from outward cuts and thrusts and carry a heroic spirit into all the fray of life. We have heard of the skeleton in armour; and behind the legend is the truth of some brave soldier who put on his harness and went to the war, and whom no sword stroke felled down, but who dropped dead before the battle and his bones were bleached within his iron garments, because, though he knew it not, his heart had been growing to stone. The truly heroic man in life's intenser conflict with fate must have within him the power of an undying life. For one whom a death, reigning and prevailing silently in his heart, cuts off, there are a hundred whose diviner life is frustrated and fails because of anarchy and insurrection in their soul. If any man would be truly valiant and divinely victorious, he must do something more than face hardship like a hero. He must look to *himself*. And it is well to realize, once and for all, that within our own nature, as behind iron bars, we have each to restrain many an evil impulse and fiery passion. As long as these *are* restrained, they are ours and we are masters of ourselves; but let them once get out and break away, we are in their power, for they are masters then; all our voices to recall, all our endeavour to capture, and all our desire to subdue, may then be in vain. We should therefore look to our inner nature. We should be alarmed when these caged powers rear and fling themselves against the control of our better judgment and roar at the voice of conscience. We should see that they are secure; put on double bars if need be, and heat the irons hot. One way or another they must be mastered, whether trained to obey the rein of a slender bridle or subjected continually to a cruel curb and a loaded whip.

The significance and secret of our life lie far beneath its surface and outward seeming. A life of leisure or one of work, of hardship or of peace, of even failure or of success, signifies but little, if it were not that at every step in them all a deeper law of our being is being obeyed or broken. The whole tumult of human life in the world is hardly worth heeding, if there be not in the silence beyond it a judgment bar before which the secrets of the soul will signify far more than outward condition. Our lips will be silent after all their words, and our lives still after all their effort; but the most secret and silent thought of our heart, that we never once put into words even to ourselves, is that which we shall first hear reverberating in eternity and telling itself aloud in the halls of judgment. Evil is rife in our world and within ourselves; so also is good. But neither can the one harm us nor the other bless us, until we have so listened to the one or to the other, that we have been by it charmed and entranced and amazed. No man is responsible for his temptation, every man is for his choice. No one is sent out on these perilous waters of Time in an unseaworthy ship. Life is full of compensations and checks. The man with the hues of genius on his cheek, and whose capacious soul makes his life swift and keen and tender to every breath and breeze, is furnished with the more sensitive apparatus to steer and the finer leverage to control. Such seems outstandingly the lesson in this searching episode of this finely-poised and highly-strung Hebrew in the days of old, whose life and circumstances seem so typical of much that is rare and precarious in human nature to all time, and whom, it seems to us, in a far away and early time, "of His own will God begat by the word of His truth, that he should be a kind of first-fruits of His creatures." To men of coarser fibre and slower heart there is Divine promise and warning—we know not which the more—in the wide-reaching word:

"There hath no temptation taken you but such as man can bear: God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able."

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE NAMES OF THE TWO ROBBERS IN THE GOSPEL.

IN a recent communication to this magazine I endeavoured to use the instruments of palæographical reasoning to elucidate the meaning of the names assigned to the two robbers in the Gospel by certain copyists or legend-makers.

The names fell into two groups, one of which was represented by the body of legends known as the Acts of Pilate or Gospel of Nicodemus; the other was found in the old Latin copies of the Gospel. The former were seen to be the result of a misreading of words written against the figures of the two robbers in an early Greek representation of the crucifixion, describing one of the robbers as the faithful or believing one (ὁ πιστός) and the other as the one hostile to God (ὁ θεομάχος).

But when we came to treat of the names that are actually found in a group of Latin gospels, we were not able to reduce them to the same form, and were obliged to leave it as an unsolved problem, reserved for further and future consideration. To this problem we now return.

The group of MSS. referred to consists of the Codex Colbertinus (cod. *c*), the Codex Rehdigerianus (cod. *l*), and the Codex Usserianus (cod. *r*), from which are extracted the following data for the names of the two robbers:

		Right-hand.		Left-hand.
Cod. *c* . .	Matt. . .	*zoatham*	and	*camma.*
	Mark . .	*zoathan*	„	*cammatha.*
		(?) Right-hand.		(?) Left-hand.
Cod. *l* . .	Luke . .	*ioathas*	„	*maggatras.*
Cod. *r* . .	Luke		„	*capnatas.*

To which may be added, if we please, the testimony of Ps.-Beda, *Collectanea*, giving the names as:

Right-hand.	Left-hand.
matha.	ioca.

These forms come from a common original, but, as I think I pointed out in the first attack on the problem, it is no ordinary palæography that will reduce them to the lost original. We must grant the common original, for cod. *l* agrees closely with cod. *c* in the name of one robber, and cod. *r* furnishes the link between cod. *l* and cod. *c* in the case of the other robber; further, the names as given in Ps.-Beda are obviously linked by some unknown process of corruption, with the names as given in codd. *c l*, *ioca* being connected with *ioatham* and *matha* with *cammatha*.

The MSS. in question are of ages recurring from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, so that the derivation of the names must go back to a very early period, which one can hardly imagine to be later than the fifth century, and which may lie any distance behind the fifth century until we come to the first. Is there any script or any version belonging to such early times which will serve to explain the peculiar forms that are before us?

We will try to solve the problem on the assumption that the explanation lies in a perverse Latin transcription, for we failed in our attempt to deduce the forms from those which we detected in Syriac documents.

Now we may remember that there is one element in the transmission of the Old-Latin texts of the Gospels which consists of extraordinarily perverse readings due to the fact that the text passed through an early Roman minuscule stage which caused immense difficulty to the copyists. The proof of this lies in the Old-Latin Codex Bobiensis (*k*), which, although written in uncials, is disfigured by errors which can only be explained by the supposition that its

immediate ancestor was written in a Roman cursive, something like the writing of the *graffiti* upon the walls of Pompeii. A reference to the edition of the Codex Bobiensis [1] by Wordsworth, Sanday, and White, will show the extraordinary confusions to which we refer.[2]

I propose to inquire whether a somewhat similar source of confusion may not explain the names of the two robbers.

The first thing I notice is that there is a common element in the two names:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{io} \\ \text{zo} \end{bmatrix}\text{atha}\begin{bmatrix} \text{s} \\ \text{m} \\ \text{n} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{matrix} \text{[camm] atha.} \\ \text{[magg] atras.} \\ \text{[capn] atas.} \end{matrix}$$

It is not easy to see how there can be a common element in two names, unless it represent what they have in common, viz., the fact that they are robbers. Write, therefore, the word

latro,

and observe how many letters it furnishes of the ending of *maggatras.* Put before it the word *malus* and indicate the abbreviation of the word by a stroke over the word and an appended dot, thus:

m̄al̄. latro.

Now in the peculiar cursive hand of which we are speaking the confusion between the letters *c g i l t* is constant; and there is no difficulty whatever in this script in deciphering *malus latro,* written as above, as *maggatro.* We see, then, how the form *maggatras* has arisen. The other forms are corruptions of this.

On the other side we must have the good robber, *bonus latro.* We may write it, as in the previous case, with an abbreviation

b̄ō. latro.

[1] Old-Latin Biblical Texts, No. II.

[2] A good instance is Matt. 5 [29]. Abrode aps te exredist tibi ut sicreat, which is apparently meant for: abscide abs te expedit tibi ut pereat.

In the cursive script, which we are working from, the letter *b* is sometimes confused with *h*, and sometimes with *i*,[1] something as they would be in our own current hands. With the mark of abbreviation across the word, we can easily get a "z" out of the crossed "b," and read:

zoiatro or *ioiatro.*
and so *zoiatha* and *ioatha,*

as in the other case, and the rest of the corruption is easily traceable.

I conclude, then, that the two names are nothing more than *Good-robber* and *Bad-robber*, written in a cursive scrawl over some representation of the crucifixion, and deciphered as names by some one who did not understand the script (which may very well have been worn and partly illegible).

It may, perhaps, be thought that this is too ingenious to be true and too subtle to be trustworthy. But a little reflection will show that we must have some such hypothesis to reconcile such divergent forms, whose divergence, almost certainly, has arisen within the Latin transmission. Hence we are driven to try either abbreviations or shorthand, or an early minuscule, or something of that kind, from which to make the various readings.

If this solution is correct, as I think it is, there is one more Old-Latin gloss explained away; for no one will maintain that the original text of the Gospel contained the statement that the one on the right hand was called Good-robber, and the one on the left Bad-robber. Every step gained in the study of the glosses is a step towards the final solution of the problem of the genesis of the text of the New Testament. Nor is it without interest to remark, as a matter of archæology, that, both in Greek and in Latin,

[1] Cf. cod. *k*, Matt. 1^4, *Nabassom* for *Nahassom*; Matt. 13^{49}, *bustorum* for *iustorum.*

our investigation has taken us back into representations of the crucifixion, with descriptions attached to the characters represented, at least as early as the fifth century.

J. Rendel Harris.

THE THUNDERS OF THE LORD IN AMOS.

It has become the fashion among commentators latterly to regard Amos iv. 13 and v. 8 as the interpolations of a later post-exilic editor. These verses are supposed to describe the greatness of God's work in creation, and we are told that such subjects did not exercise the Hebrews till a later date than that of Amos. "The germs long ago deposited by the preaching of Amos and Isaiah . . . had developed into the rich theology of Isaiah ii. and the Book of Job, . . . an ordinary reader of Amos inserted these doxologies (as we may call them) to relieve the gloom of the prophetic pictures" (Cheyne, art. "Amos," in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*).

The former passage runs in R.V. thus:—". . . prepare to meet thy God, O Israel. [13] For, lo, he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth; the Lord, the God of hosts, is His name." Certainly the words of *v.* 13 do not at once fit into the context; the fact that God formed the mountains is about as far removed from what Amos has in hand as it can well be. At the same time the clause about making the morning dark shows that merely the creative energy of God is not uppermost in the writer's mind: it is a very definite picture which is drawn, if we could seize the right point of view.

For the first clause of *v.* 13 ("He that formeth the mountains") the Septuagint has στερεῶν βροντήν, *i.e.* instead of

יצר הרים it reads יצר רעם "He that formeth the thunder." I venture to think that this one change transforms the passage into a recitation of the titles of Jahwe as God of the thunderstorm, in all respects suitable in the mouth of Amos.

That the ancient Hebrews thought of their God as pre-eminently revealed in the storm-cloud needs no demonstration. The thunders and lightnings of Sinai, the whole career of Elijah both at Carmel and at Horeb, attest this clearly.[1] God speaks in the storm: "who can understand His mighty thunder?" (Job xxvi. 14). But furthermore, the conception runs through the whole book of Amos. If Jahwe has roared from Zion (i. 2), it is more than the cry of the Lion of Judah: surely nothing less than the lightning-flash which came in answer to Elijah could "make the top of Carmel wither"! "The day of the LORD is darkness and not light" (v. 18, 20); "He will cause the sun to go down at mid-day" (viii. 9)—obviously in the black thunder-clouds. If Israel is to prepare to meet its God, then God is absent, and the absence of Jahwe is shown by drought (iv. 7 ff.), for God is the withholder of rain as well as the giver. Amos tells them that when He whom they are expecting comes at last, it will be in the destructive tempest. Jahwe (says Amos), who has left you a prey to drought and mildew, is coming: "Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel; for lo, the Fashioner of the thunder and Creator of the wind, Who announceth His thought to man as at Sinai and Carmel, while darkening the dawn and making His way over the mountain tops in the storm-cloud—Jahwe, God of Hosts, is His name!"

In plain prose, no doubt, Jahwe's thunderbolts are the armies of Assyria, but the language employed is appropriate in the mouth of a Hebrew prophet of the 8th century B.C.,

[1] Compare also such Psalms as xviii. and xxix., each of which describes a Theophany under the image of a thunderstorm.

addressing his countrymen in a season of drought. So far from exhibiting the "rich theology" of which Dr. Cheyne speaks, I should think the imagery was already conventional in Amos's day.

The same considerations are to a great extent true of the expressions used in Amos v. 8. I do not think that the writer of that verse, in naming the "Seven Stars" and "Orion" (in Hebrew, *Kîmâ* and *Kĕsîl*) was thinking of the beauties of nature, or of anything to do with mythological pre-historic Titans. The two names occur again together most significantly in Job xxxviii. 31: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of *Pleiades*, or loose the bands of *Orion*?" That much-quoted verse occupies about the middle of a long passage (*vv.* 22–38), which fortunately does not require any extraordinary erudition to find out its general meaning. The question which God is asking of Job in so many varied forms, that practical question which it did not need Babylonian science to bring before men's thoughts, is: Can any one control the weather? Can any one make it rain? "Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds, that abundance of waters may cover thee?" There still seems to be a good deal of doubt as to which of our constellations are represented by *Kîmâ* and *Kĕsîl*, but there can be very little doubt indeed that their influence was supposed to affect the rainfall.[1]

As long as such passages as these from Amos or Job are supposed to have been prompted by mere scientific or mythological curiosity on the part of their writers, so long the tendency to reject them as late interpolations will

[1] What the "sweet influences" of *Kîmâ* practically meant may be gathered from *Berach.* 58*b*, *B. Mez.* 106*b*: "When the Holy One wished to bring the Flood upon the world, He took out two stars from *Kîmâ*, and the Deluge came through." Possibly *Kĕsîl* was in the ascendant in the "Dog-days." The advent of Jahwe, before whom the clouds drop water and the hills dissolve in mist, caused the stars *out of their regular courses* to pour down the rain which flooded the Kishon and swept away the host of Sisera (Judges v. 21).

remain. No doubt the Exile added greatly to the scientific lore of the Hebrews. At the same time there is no nation, however limited its outlook, which is not vitally interested in the weather, and interest in the weather means to those who live out of doors a working knowledge of the sky. The mere naming, therefore, of stars or constellations in a Hebrew work is scarcely a proof of post-exilic date, especially if the stars named are those which were held to be connected with the wet and dry seasons. I am not here concerned to defend the loose syntax of Amos v. 8 (which I suppose is best taken as a long *nominativus pendens* resumed at ידעתי in *v.* 12), but I do suggest that the language used is not inappropriate to Amos and his times.

F. C. Burkitt.

JÜLICHER ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PARABLES.

Jülicher proceeds to draw out further the difference between simile and metaphor in a series of suggestive antitheses. Metaphor admits of interpretation; in simile, interpretation is wholly out of the question, as every word is to be taken literally. Simile is instructive; metaphor, interesting. Simile, the reader takes as it is given him; of metaphor, he makes something for himself. Simile makes the understanding of the subject easier; metaphor, we might almost say, more difficult, or at any rate presupposes some understanding on the part of the reader. Simile explains; metaphor hints. Simile, increases the light; metaphor diminishes it. Simile, reveals; metaphor encourages the reader to learn for himself. Simile descends to the level of his understanding; metaphor raises him up to its own. A good simile admits of no further question; a good metaphor is intended to call forth the question, τί ἐστι τοῦτο;

What holds of simile and metaphor holds also of their higher forms, parable and allegory; for the parable is an expanded simile, the allegory, an expanded metaphor. To take the latter first, an allegory is really a series of metaphors. All the main terms introduced are metaphors which require to be replaced by other terms to which they correspond before the meaning is clear. But the metaphors thus introduced are all drawn from the same sphere, and have a connexion among themselves. Apart from the hidden meaning beneath it, that is to say, the allegory must present some intelligible sense. A single metaphor is a point corresponding to another point in a different plane; an allegory, a line running parallel to another, to which it corresponds at every point. As an example, we might take the משל in Ezekiel xvii. There we have a connected narrative about a vine and two eagles. But beneath the story there runs a hidden meaning, a line running parallel to the line of the narrative. In *v.* 12, the prophet asks, *οὐκ ἐπίστασθε τί ἦν ταῦτα*; and then goes over the narrative again, only substituting now the proper conceptions for the metaphorical ones which took their place before, *βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος* for *ἀετὸς ὁ μέγας*, *ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ* for *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν Λίβανον*, and so on. Now if we regard the interpretation of the parables of the sower and the tares in the Gospels as authentic, then these parables are nothing more or less than allegories. But, in spite of the high authority upon which this view of the parables rests, Jülicher is strongly of opinion that it is false, and for the following reasons:—

1. In the first place, we understand the parables of Jesus without *ἐπίλυσις*. Now the view of the Synoptists is that Jesus's parables are speeches which mean something different from what the words say. What they do mean the disciples themselves do not know. They need to ask Jesus, and He interprets (*ἐπιλύει*) for them. But, with two

exceptions, these (ἐπιλύσεις) are all lost. The only conclusion is that, with these two exceptions, the parables are unintelligible to us. Upon these lines we land in the following dilemma: *Either*, the parables as allegories require an ἐπίλυσις, and, as that given by Jesus has not been handed down, they must be unintelligible; *or*, we understand them without any interpretation handed down to us, in which case such interpretation could never have been necessary, *i.e.*, they are not allegories. The attempt to escape this dilemma, on the ground that Matthew xiii. 18–23, 37–43 gives the key to the interpretation of all the parables, is futile. The only key which that passage gives is the general principle that the main conceptions introduced in the parables of Jesus are to be understood in a sense different from the literal one. But that does not advance us any further, any more than to know that a riddle is a riddle gives the answer to it.

2. But, further, it is in the highest degree unlikely that Jesus made such general use of allegory; for allegory is the most artificial among the figures of speech. Metaphors flow from the lips of the speaker, particularly the Oriental, spontaneously; but allegory demands careful preparation. To carry it through with success is a work of much difficulty. It smells of the lamp, and, unless we think of Jesus preparing His addresses carefully beforehand, is the very last form of instruction to which we should expect Him to resort.

3. But the parables of Jesus positively forbid identification with allegories. They begin usually with the formula "The kingdom of heaven is like" so and so. They invite the reader to compare two different things, and note their resemblance. No allegory begins thus, for the purpose of allegory is quite different. It requires us, not to put two things side by side and compare them, but to substitute one for the other. Its object is gained if, in reading of the one,

we think of the other; in reading of the vine and the eagles in Ezekiel xvii., for instance, we understand Israel, and Babylon, and Egypt. The interpretation of the allegory never runs thus, "this is *like* this," "the eagle is *like* the king of Babylon," but "this *is* that," "the eagle *is* the king of Babylon." To identify the parables of the Gospels with allegories is simply to ignore the difference between "being like" and "standing in place of," between comparison and substitution.

4. Every allegory bears infallible witness to its character in the fact that its literal sense is unsatisfactory. To regard a saying as an allegory, merely because we think it may be made to bear an allegorical interpretation, is pure caprice. Only when such interpretation is forced upon us by the unsatisfactory meaning of the saying in its literal sense, are we justified in resorting to it. The simple metaphor makes us feel that it must not be taken literally. We understand at once, from the connexion in which it occurs, that the word ζύμη, in Mark viii. 15, must be understood in another than the ordinary sense. Much more do we feel the same thing with allegory. Nobody can read Ezekiel xvii. without feeling that this is no story about a real vine and real eagles. No doubt the aim of the allegorist is to make the story, beneath which his meaning is concealed, run as smoothly and with as little breach of probability as possible. But he can never succeed entirely. There are no two objects in the world that are exactly alike. The more complex their character, the less is such likeness possible. The conditions and laws of the spiritual sphere, with which allegory for the most part deals, in spite of a certain resemblance, are yet widely different from those of the natural. How, then, is it possible to construct a story which, while apparently narrating some occurrence in the natural sphere, shall accurately describe some spiritual experience, without in some measure violating the law

of probability? The resemblance between the symbol and the reality is only superficial. As soon as we go into detail, the wide difference between the two makes itself felt. The parallelism can be preserved only at the expense of one or other of the sides; and, as it is the spiritual meaning that is the matter of importance, naturally it is the other side which suffers. Thus every allegory, no matter how carefully constructed, lacks, to a certain extent, inner necessity. Pure impossibilities, open contradictions are, indeed, avoided, but it aims at nothing more than mere possibility. There is always a certain air of unreality, of unsatisfactoriness, about it, which impels us to seek for a meaning underlying the story. But we feel nothing of the kind with the parables of Christ. The characters we meet in them are all taken from real life. They act exactly in the way we should expect them to act. Never for a moment do we feel that the story has been "cooked" to serve a hidden purpose. Not a hint is there to suggest that it is merely the worthless husk, within which the precious kernel is concealed.

These considerations justify us, Jülicher thinks, in rejecting the Evangelists' view of parables. We cannot but admit that they may have allowed the prejudices of their own circles to affect the account they give of the parables of Jesus. They sometimes put into His mouth sayings which He certainly did not utter. When they begin to reflect, as in Mark iv., Matthew xiii., Luke viii., there they are least of all to be relied on. We appeal from the Evangelists to the parables themselves; we examine them free from all prejudice inspired by the evangelical theory, treating them as though the Evangelists had never said a word as to their nature, had never given a hint as to their interpretation. At once all difficulties disappear, and the parables of Jesus range themselves alongside of the ordinary figures of speech which we meet with in the case of every

great orator. The following are the conclusions Jülicher arrives at on such an unprejudiced investigation of the subject:—

(i.) One group of the *παραβολαί* he regards as SIMILITUDES (Gleichnisse), attaching to the word the sense which Aristotle (Rhet. ii. 20) assigns to *παραβολή*. The similitude is a higher stage of the simile. The simile compares two conceptions, *e.g.*, "Herod" and "fox"; the similitude, two propositions, *i.e.*, two relations of conceptions. We might represent simile in mathematical form, thus, $a = \alpha$; similitude, on the other hand, thus, $a : b = \alpha : \beta$. Now the proportion $\frac{a}{b} = \frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ holds good, even if a be not equal to α and b to β; and this is the case with similitude. To construct a simile there must be some resemblance between the two objects compared; but in a similitude such resemblance need not exist, for it is not the objects that are compared, but the relations between them. So in a similitude, although there are many terms introduced, we speak of a *tertium comparationis*, but not of several *tertia*. As the simile compares one *word* with another, so the similitude illustrates one *thought* by another. Hence the similitude consists necessarily of two members—the thought which the author desires to illustrate, and the illustration which he brings forward to cast light on it. It is a common practice to apply the name *παραβολή* only to the latter member, the illustration, a practice which has proved a fruitful source of error. We might distinguish these two members as *fact* (Sache) and *illustration* (Bild). Aristotle gives a typical *παραβολή* in the chapter already referred to: *οὐ δεῖ κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν* (fact), *ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τοὺς ἀθλητὰς κληροίη, μὴ οἳ ἂν δύνωνται ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλ' οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν, ἢ τῶν πλωτήρων ὅν τινα δεῖ κυβερνᾶν κληρώσειεν ὡς δέον τὸν λαχόντα ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον* (illustrations). Of course it is not to be expected that every similitude

will be constructed strictly on this model. We meet with countless varieties. The illustration sometimes comes first; or the two propositions may be placed alongside of one another without any comparative particle; or one or other of them may be only partially expressed; or the "fact" omitted altogether. These are mere external variations which do not affect the essential character of the similitude.

In the above example from Aristotle, observe, there is no question of comparing ἄρχειν with ἀγωνίζεσθαι or κυβερνᾶν. All that is asserted is, that it is as unreasonable to elect rulers by lot as it would be to choose athletes or steersmen on the same principle. It is not the ruler that is compared to the athlete or the steersman, but the principle in the one case that is compared with the principle in the others. The three cases are all instances of a general law. One might have appealed to the general law in support of the proposition. That were the more logical procedure. But the most logical is not the most effective method in popular argument. The concrete is much more convincing than the abstract. There is nothing like a *demonstratio ad oculos*. Hence the power of similitude. It is an argument from the admitted to the doubtful, from an indisputable fact to a parallel case, where for some reason or other—want of understanding, it may be, or the existence of prejudice, or the presence of passion—the action of the law in question is not recognised.

Jülicher would define similitude thus:—Similitude is that figure of speech in which the operation (Wirkung) of a proposition is secured by placing alongside of it a similar proposition, taken from another sphere, the operation of which is assured.

We have but to compare with this the definition of allegory, to realize how complete is the difference between them. Allegory he defines thus:—Allegory is that figure of speech in which one connected series of conceptions is

represented by another connected series of similar conceptions borrowed from another sphere. What a vast difference there is between these two must be evident at a glance. In the allegory all the main terms must be understood in a sense different from the literal one; in the similitude every word in the illustration must be taken exactly as it stands. Fancy taking the κυβερνᾶν of Aristotle's example in a metaphorical sense! There could not be a greater offence against the aim of the figure. The reason why the speaker introduces it is that it is a thing with which every one is familiar, and yet we are to believe that when he speaks about steering, he means not steering but something quite different! Allegory requires interpretation before its meaning becomes clear. But the purpose of similitude is to illustrate, to make clear, and in order to do so it must be perfectly clear itself. An obscure similitude is worse than none. To interpret a similitude is like taking a lamp to show the lamp that is placed to give us light.

So widely different are allegory and similitude that not only can there be no question of identification of the two, but there can be none even of combination. An allegorical similitude is a monstrosity. How were it possible to combine things so utterly different in nature? We understand what an allegory is, and know that its terms are to be understood in a metaphorical sense. We understand what a similitude is, and know that its terms are to be understood in a literal sense. But what an allegorical similitude can be, with its terms to be understood at once in a literal and a metaphorical sense, we cannot imagine. One might as well speak of a black white, or a light darkness. Even the attempt to compare the various items in the illustration half of the similitude with those in the other half is unjustifiable. It is a milder species of "interpretation" derived from allegory, which is not permissible in similitude.

For, as we have seen, the proportion $\frac{a}{b} = \frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ holds good, though a be wholly different from α, b from β. The resemblance between the proposition to be illustrated and the illustration, in similitude, depends, not on the resemblance of the various terms in each to one another, but on the resemblance between the relations in the two cases. When I apply the homely proverb about the pot calling the kettle black to the conduct of one person towards another, surely I do not compare the one to a pot and the other to a kettle!

Similitudes such as we have described are frequent among the sayings of Jesus. Such, for instance, are Mark xiii. 28 sq., iii. 23 sqq.; Luke v. 36–39, iv. 23, xii. 39, 40, xiv. 28–33; Matthew vii. 9–11, 24–27. Let us glance at one of the examples, the first in the above list. Here are two sentences placed side by side, the one dealing with the Parousia, the other with the fig tree. Is this an allegory or a similitude such as we have described? Let us see how it lends itself to allegorical interpretation. What do "the fig tree," "the branch," "being tender," "putting forth leaves," etc., mean? These are questions to which we are supposed to find answers in verse 29. But verse 29 is very far from professing to give anything of the kind. It begins with *οὕτως καὶ*, which is surely in itself a proof that it contains something different from interpretative repetition. *Οὕτως καὶ* is not identical with *id est*; it adds something new to what has gone before, and does not simply repeat it in another form. As an allegory the figure were of the poorest. How forced the resemblance between summer and the Son of man! Or, again, could a more unfortunate comparison be made than that between the genial evidences of spring in the bursting forth of the fig tree, and the terrible events described in *vv.* 14–23? But, further, the opening words expressly forbid anything

in the nature of allegorical interpretation. Ἀπὸ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν παραβολήν, it begins; and if we are to learn anything from the fig tree, surely we must look at the fig tree itself, and not take it as a metaphor for something else. Plainly this is no allegory that we have before us. But take it as a similitude, such as we have described above, and all these difficulties disappear. Jesus has been describing the terrible events that will precede the Parousia (*vv.* 14–23). When these things come to pass, He tells His disciples, they may know that the Parousia is at hand, just as surely as they know, when they see the fig tree putting forth her leaves, that summer is near. The resemblance between the two cases lies in the fact that they are both instances of the general law, that when once a thing begins to work, then it is not far off—the general law to which the summer and the Parousia and a thousand other things are subject. That the disciples are to learn anything more from the fig tree, that they are to take the tenderness of its branches, or the putting forth of its leaves, as counterparts to any of the signs which announce the advent of the Parousia, we are not justified in inferring from the text. The parable does not profess to teach anything regarding the *nature* of the Parousia. All that it deals with is the question of the "*when*." Every word is to be taken literally. The fig tree, of which Jesus bids His disciples learn the parable, is a fig tree such as every inhabitant of Palestine was familiar with. The fact stated in verse 28 was a fact which Jesus's hearers had observed scores of times. Only on the supposition that Jesus is referring to a well-known fact, does the similitude convey any instruction.

G. Wauchope Stewart.

(*To be concluded.*)

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

III. Unity against Plurality.

A. Isaiah (*continued*).

Of the archæological notices contained in Isaiah xl.–lxvi., some have already been seen to be based on the Wisdom of Solomon. There are besides some of great importance in chapters lvii., lxv., and lxvi. The abominations described in chapter lvii. include (verse 5) the worship of *elim* under green trees; the only other place in which this technical term appears is Isaiah i. 29 ("Men shall be ashamed of the *elim* which ye have desired"). The ceremonies rebuked in chapter lxv. include sacrifices in *gannoth* (verse 3), and the same technical term figures in chapter lxvi. (verse 17); the only other place in which it is found is also Isaiah i. 29 ("Ye shall be ashamed of the *gannoth* which ye have chosen"). That *gannoth* here does not mean ordinary gardens, but is a technical term, appears from the threat in i. 30, where the votaries of these *gannoth* are told that they shall become like a *garden* that has no water. For this threat evidently derives its suitability from a play on words, and resembles that of lxv. 11, 12, "Those who fill a libation to Mina;[1] and I shall *commit* you (*manithi*) to the sword": a similarly contemptuous jest being found in lvii. 6, "Thy lot is in the stones of the wadi," where the words for "lot"

[1] The Massoretic pointing *Mānī* agrees with *Al-Mānī*, "the Dispenser," which is used as a name of God in a verse quoted by Yakut; but as the word in Isaiah has not the article, the vocalization of the local name *Mina* seems more likely to be right.

and "stone" are almost identical. If the word *gannoth* were not technical, the play on the words would be pointless; and we may observe that the threat of i. 30 is matched by the promise of lviii. 11, "Thou shalt be like a well-watered garden," where (owing to the absence of any other allusion) the ordinary form of the word for "garden" is used. As we shall soon see, the worship with which these terms *gannoth* and *elim* are connected was exceedingly elaborate, and therefore characteristic of a period. We learn, therefore, that the authors of Isaiah i. and of Isaiah lvii. and lxv., lxvi. were contemporaries. That the first chapter of a great classic could be attributed to any one but its right author is too wild a surmise to deserve consideration. We start, then, with the remarkable fact that the "first Isaiah" uses two technical terms with which the "second Isaiah" and no other Hebrew author is familiar. And the "second Isaiah" acts as interpreter to the "first Isaiah," by enabling us to locate, and to some extent comprehend, the nature of the cults to which these technical terms belonged. And from this observation a very easy step leads to the identification of the two authors.

The description of chapter lxv. would seem to apply particularly to the worship of the gods Mina and Gad. The former name seems identical with that of a place that still figures in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to Mecca; but the feminine form *Manāt* is better known as an actual object of worship. Owing to this idol having been named in the Koran (Surah liii. 20) the Arabic antiquarians[1] have preserved some useful notices of its character. According to one authority this feminine form merely means "*a* stone," whereas the masculine would mean "stones," or "rocks"; and that the idol named Manāt was not an

[1] Azraki in Wüstenfeld's *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i. 78–84; Al-Baghawi's *Commentary on the Koran* (lithographed at Bombay); Yakut, *Geographical Lexicon*, *s.v.* Mina.

image, but a rock or stone, appears from some of the stories which the antiquarians preserve. According to one account it was a flat stone on which a man clarified butter; when he died, some people appropriated the stone and made a god of it. Clearly the clarified butter must have been an offering to the stone, similar to the milk which, according to Azraki, was offered to another idol. According to several authorities, Manāt was set up on the seashore—perhaps was a rock on the coast.

"The full libation," which, Isaiah tells us, was offered to Mina, was therefore an idolatrous practice common to Israel with the Arabian tribes, and the "table spread for Gad" was doubtless of the same order. We notice that just as Manāt was a rock by the sea, so in Isaiah lvii. it is the stones of the torrents that are objects of worship, while other hideous rites are performed under "rocky crags." An authority, followed by the geographer Yakut, who states that idols were brought into Arabia first in the form of ordinary stones, adds that the worshippers gave as their reason for propitiating the stones the fact that they could be petitioned for *rain*. This notice seems to give us the light we require. The sea and the rivers were personified as gods from whom water might be sought; and the propitiatory rites were chiefly for the purpose of securing rain or water, the constant need for which permeates all Arabic poetry, and the poetry of Isaiah even more. Sacrifices by lakes, rivers, and rocks were common among American races, *e.g.*, the Chibchas;[1] and even Horace, in a familiar ode, describes a sacrifice to a spring.

Isaiah (lxvi. 17) informs us that the worshippers in these cases claimed a special sort of sanctity. This was apparently in virtue of their being houseless and eating weird food, such as the ordinary law forbade. The notices of the

[1] Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iv. 363; for Africa, see ii. 175; and for human sacrifices to appease water-gods, ii. 198.

Arabic antiquarians illustrate this. At certain periods the worshippers of these stone idols thought it improper to come under a roof, and we learn from the Koran that they prided themselves greatly on this form of asceticism. To some similar custom the prophet alludes (lxv. 4) when he speaks of those who dwell in holes (?) and graves, and who, owing to their superior sanctity, refuse to let others come near them. To the custom mentioned in this text we can easily see a reference in Isaiah ii., where it is said that men will have to retreat into holes in order to escape the Divine vengeance. There will then be a reason for the practice, which is at present an idolatrous caprice.

The customs described in lvii. 5–10 may also be identified with the practice of the Arabian idolaters: "those who heat themselves with *elim* under every green tree." The commentator on the passage of the Koran that has been quoted tells a story of a man who took three stones, set them up under a tree, and then told his tribe that this was their god, to be propitiated by circuits. The ceremony to which the word "heating themselves" refers will then be a circuit of this kind, in which the worshipper ran round the object of his worship. The circuit of the Kaabah is probably the only relic of the practice in Arabia. "Slaughtering the children in the wadis under the rocky crags." This reminds us of the offerings of children to water-gods practised by African negroes.[1] Among the Chibchas a young man captured from the enemy was dedicated to the sun, beheaded in the open air on a mountain, and his blood sprinkled on a rock.[2] The sacrifice of children, especially of the first son, was observed as a practice of the Peruvians.[3] The Greek custom of presenting a lock of hair to the river-god is probably a relic of a more barbarous form of propitiation; while the Roman antiquarians, doubtless with

[1] Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. 198. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 364.
[3] *Ibid.* iv. 461. Compare iii. 207 for Florida.

justice, regard the practice of throwing straw figures to the Tiber as a relic of human sacrifice. But this form of infanticide also reminds us of that which was practised by the pre-Mohammedan Arabs, which Mohammed has the credit of having abolished. The antiquarians confine the custom to the burying alive of female infants; and this, they say, was done by only a few tribes. There is, however, some ground for thinking that it was carried on on a larger scale. One of the women of Mecca, who, after the city had yielded to the Prophet, was asked to accept the conditions of Islam, being told that she must not kill her children, replied, "We reared them when they were small, you killed them when they were grown."[1] This answer would be off the point if the slaughter of male children was unknown.

That the offerings recorded by Isaiah were originally intended to procure rain seems most likely. The "stones of the brook" would represent the river-god, where, as is the case with the torrents mentioned in Scripture, the river has water only at special seasons. Where the rivers are deep, the victim can be thrown in,[2] and this is a common practice. But where the water is insufficient for that purpose, the victim has to be dispatched as in the scene recorded by Isaiah.

A remarkable suggestion that has been made to account for infanticide is worth repeating. The soul of the newborn child, being absolutely pure, is thought to be best able to act as intercessor with the god. This theory seems to group several of the notions current in Arabia together. That a son is the natural intercessor for his father is asserted even by Mohammedan writers.[3] The old theory is said to have been that the idols were God's daughters, and carried on intercession, and these ideas Mohammed seemed at one time willing to adopt. If, therefore, the superior sanctity

[1] *Al-Fachri*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 126. [2] Waitz, l.c. iv. 363.
[3] *Letters* of Abu 'l-'Ala, p. 131.

of which we read in chapter lxv. and lxvi. were claimed by those who had tried this method of acquiring it, we can understand both the tenacity with which the claim was maintained and also the indignation which it provoked.

Verse 6 proceeds to describe the offerings of food and drink to the stones of the torrent, which have already been illustrated. In verse 7 he adds, "On a high and lofty mountain thou hast set thy bed." This worship on mountain-tops is attested for the Arabs by Azraki; it belongs to a very early form of Paganism. The mountain-top is thought to be nearer God than any lower part of the earth. The description that follows seems to refer to licentious rites, but in the language of the Prophets on the subject of idolatry it is difficult to distinguish simile from realism. In the declaration of chapter ii. that every high mountain shall feel the wrath of God and be brought low, we recognise an allusion to the rites described in this verse.

Verse 8 continues, "And behind the door and the doorpost thou hast set thy remembrance that thou hast gone away from me." This seems to be an allusion to a custom whereby a woman who left her husband's house for good put some mark indicating that she had done so. In Exodus xxi. 6 we read that permanent adoption by a family was indicated by a ceremonial in which the door and the doorpost figured; whence it seems natural that permanent emancipation from a family should be indicated by a ceremony in which they figured also. The verb here employed for "to emigrate," or "to run away," is ordinarily used of forcible expulsion; but the earlier sense, "to migrate," is known to Isaiah in v. 13, and also appears in 2 Samuel xv. 19. When this word had once become indissolubly connected with the melancholy exile of the Jews, it is unlikely that the earlier sense could remain; whence these passages must be pre-exilian. "Thy remembrance" probably refers to some article specially characteristic of the

mistress of the house, which would be hung "behind the door and the doorpost" as a sign that the position was abandoned.[1]

The rest of the verse is too realistic for discussion. Verse 9 begins, "And thou didst . . . for Molech with oil." The figures here, and in what follows, are taken from the practice of courtesans, who employed unguents and perfumes to render their persons charming; the sense, therefore, will be correctly represented by "thou didst anoint thyself," though the actual meaning of the verb used is lost. There follows, "And thou didst send thy messengers unto a distance, and didst send them down even unto Sheol." In the first of these phrases we recognise the author of xviii. 2; and in the second, the author of vii. 10. The practice referred to would appear to be that of seeking foreign alliances, whereas, in the opinion of the Prophet, the Jewish kings should have trusted entirely to Divine aid; of course, such a charge would be ridiculous after the exile. "If sending down into hell" is to be taken literally, the reference is to the necromancy suggested by viii. 19.

The purpose of the illustrations of these ceremonies is to prove that the latter were relics of extreme antiquity. Some of the closest parallels come from the American savages; while in some cases we are able to identify the rites with those current in Arabia from time immemorial, and finally abolished by Mohammed. The source, then, of these practices in Palestine must have been ancient and undisturbed custom; they had been brought by the Canaanites with them from Arabia, and the Israelites had learned them from the Canaanites. They were kept alive by attachment to particular mountains and particular rivers, and in part were based on the system which con-

[1] Compare the custom of the southern Kaffirs, among whom the bride was presented with "ein Besen, ein Napf und ein Mühlstein" on the wedding-day (Waitz, l.c. ii. 388).

nected and even identified the gods with particular localities. The cultivation of them involved an insult to the Temple (lxv. 11), which, therefore, must have been standing at the time of the rebuke. These passages are in consequence so clearly pre-exilian, that even some of those who were in favour of the dissecting theory have been unable to place them any later. While, then, the "first Isaiah" is supposed to be interpolated with post-exilian matter, the "second Isaiah" is supposed to be interpolated with pre-exilian matter. Naturally, a theory that involves so much complication can make little claim to probability.

The author of chapter lxv. 8, 9, takes the same view of the purpose of the exile which is taken throughout the book, and, indeed, throughout the Bible. Attachment to these savage and primitive rites could only be dissolved by removing the worshippers from the soil on which they were practised; hence, the exile was not only a punishment but also a corrective. From it there returned those whose progenitors had not bowed the knee to Baal, while those whose interests were far removed from the objects which Israel was destined to accomplish lost their nationality. Those who came back were cured, or rather purified, from this particular form of evil. That they were not faultless we know from the Prophets of the return; but, to attribute to them fetish worship of a primitive sort is a gross anachronism. One might as well accuse the English of the 19th century of burning heretics or using ordeals as evidence.

That the rites described in chapters lxv. and lxvi. are of the same sort as those so vividly depicted in chapter lvii. need not be doubted; indeed, it was from chapter lxv. that the clue was obtained which led to the search for parallels in the works of the Arabic antiquarians. The phrase "behind one in the midst" of lxvi. 17 reminds us of the Arabic *imâm*, or leader of ceremonies, who does not face the congregation, but goes through the performance in the front place

while the congregation do the same behind him. That word is certainly taken over into Mohammedanism from the earlier cult.

Next after the idolatrous rites rebuked by the "second Isaiah," we may consider some other crimes which he condemns. One of the most serious impeachments is to be found in lix. 2–9. The Prophet there states that the sins of his countrymen have been a bar between them and God; they have caused God to hide His face and prevented Him from hearing. This is the same message as that in i. 14, 15, with a slight difference in the tense and the expression. He then proceeds: "for your hands are polluted with blood." This also is identical with the accusation in i. 15, "your hands are full of blood"; or, perhaps, "tainted with blood." Now this is as grave an accusation as can be made; to what it precisely refers our slight knowledge of Israelitish history does not enable us to say; the Prophet may have in mind either judicial murders (such as that in old times of Naboth), or recklessness of human life among loose livers, or the infanticide just discussed. Whichever of these it be —supposing it does not refer, as many have thought, to a judicial murder in the distant future—the two "remonstrances" must clearly belong to the same period. And that period can only be pre-exilic; the mere notion of such a remonstrance being addressed to the returned exiles seems to involve anachronism. Indeed, the Prophet's idea is clearly that the exile was a sort of sea in which these offences were to be washed out.

The terrible impeachment of his contemporaries which follows strongly resembles that contained in chapters i. and v. It is illustrated by similes taken from natural history, in which words otherwise only used by the "first Isaiah" are employed. Verses 9 and 11 contain a free paraphrase of v. 7; but the play on the words in the earlier chapter is intentionally altered; an imitator would probably have repro-

duced it. In lvi. 10–12 the impeachment is confined to the rulers; they are accused of drunkenness, corruption, and incompetence, just as they are in v. 22, 23, iii. 12, and ix. 15. That the same impeachment could be made with justice at such different periods as the time of the "first Isaiah," and the close of the exile or commencement of the return, seems unthinkable; but to deny the authenticity of the early chapters of the book is uncritical. How could such a forgery have remained undetected?

In chapter lix. the people are accused of lip service; they ask why their punctilious performance of ceremonies is unproductive of results, and are told that it is owing to the fact that their service is not accompanied by a corresponding reform in their conduct. The same is the burden of chapter i. and of xxix. 13. Surely the remonstrances addressed to the Jews before and after the great crisis in their national existence cannot have been so similar.

Let us now see whether the second half of Isaiah tells us anything about the Prophet's person. Ewald seems to have rightly interpreted viii. 18, "Verily I and the children which the Lord has given me are for signs and tokens in Israel," of the names Isaiah, Shear-yashub, and Maher-shalal-hash-baz. Clearly the names "A remnant shall return," and "Hasten the spoil, hurry the plunder," were too full of meaning to escape notice; therefore the Prophet's own name, "The salvation of the Lord," must also have been of notable significance; and, indeed, that theme, "the salvation of the Lord," pervades the whole book.

But it follows that the Prophet must have taken this name himself. Thus only would its significance be forced on the minds of his contemporaries. It was thus that at the time of the French Revolution men took such names as Publicola, Timoleon, Harmodius, to be able to exhibit their republicanism to the whole world. Similarly at the

time of the Civil War in England Puritans took verses of Scripture for their names. Such designations were significant only if they were intentionally taken or given. Hence the name "Salvation of the Lord" must have been adopted by the Prophet with prophetic intent. What then was his original name?

This appears to be given in xlii. 18–21. The way to translate these verses seems to me the following: "Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, so as to see. Who was blind but my servant, or deaf as my messenger whom I send? Who was blind as *Meshullam*, and blind as the servant of the Lord? Seeing much without noticing; open-eared without hearing. The Lord was pleased of His grace to make a great and notable example." The name Meshullam, as will be seen by consulting the Concordance, is by no means uncommon; it belongs to a root which gives a great number of proper names both in Hebrew and Arabic; they all mean "safe and sound," and are names of good omen; Salim, Selim, Salman, Shallum, Sulaiman, Solomon, Maslamah, Musailimah, Salma, Sulma, Salama, Musallam, mean all practically the same. The "great and notable example" then lay in the fact that he, Meshullam, had been enabled to see; why then should not others?

Let us compare this with the most autobiographical chapter in Isaiah—chapter vi. In the first place, the vision there justifies the description of himself in the above passage as "My messenger whom I send." For there he heard the question asked by God, "Whom shall I send, and who shall go for us?" And he answered, "Here am I; send me." And he was told to go and say to the people, "Hear, but understand not; see, and know not"—the very condition wherein, according to xlii. 20, the messenger himself had been.

Then we see that in verse 5 he identifies his condition with that of his countrymen until the live coal had touched

his lips. The immediate result of that was to be the removal of sin; but assuredly the image is meant to suggest "the scholar's tongue," which in l. 4, he says, was given him by the Lord, to utter the words which (as Ben-Sira says) blaze like a fire, and, indeed, however inadequately they are translated, thrill the reader and hearer more probably than any other form of utterance. Hence it would seem that the verses xlii. 18–21 give us a very needful supplement to the biographical notice of the chapter vi.

But is the supposition that Meshullam is a proper name a wild conjecture, or an observation that is likely sooner or later to be generally accepted? I trust the latter, because modern scholars see the necessity of correcting the text, owing to the fact that, taken as a substantive, the word gives no satisfactory meaning. Now we have already seen that the correction of the text in the case of Hebrew writers is an operation which is very unlikely to lead to satisfactory results. It is only in rare cases that such a proceeding is dictated by the canons of science. On the other hand, I can imagine no reason grammatical or other which stands in the way of the interpretation given above. And seeing how deeply this Prophet is imbued with the feeling that a new condition calls for a new name (cf. lxii. 2), the conjecture of Ewald that the name Isaiah was meant to mark the Prophet's new condition seems highly probable.

Whether the Prophet was accurate in describing his own state as equally forlorn with that of the blindest it is difficult to determine. There are many cases of men called to humbler stages of the same vocation who have painted their former lives in colours which those who knew them would not have recognised. But surely the verses in chapter xlii. must proceed from him who saw the vision of chapter vi.

We learn, then, from chapter vi. that the mission under-

taken by the Prophet was without hope of brilliant success; it was only when Jerusalem was reduced to a ruin that it was to begin to be heard. In l. 6–10 we hear the Prophet complain of its ineffectual character; the reception of his message was just what had been promised; it was greeted with contempt and ridicule, with blows and buffets. The consolation that he had was the same as that which nerves all those who are defending the cause of science against tremendous odds, viz., that the truth is permanent, and must slowly approve itself, whereas the opponent is transitory. Naturally it might be said that this was too often the fate of those who interpreted the purposes or work of God aright for the first time to serve for scientific identification; but then it must be observed that we have no other justification save this passage for the oracle of chapter vi. For the personal narrative in chapter xx. refers to a symbolic act, such as other prophets, both true and false, practised; from the remainder of the personal notices in chapters i.–xxxix. we should gather that Isaiah had the enviable post of court Prophet, particularly enviable in the case of one who had to announce good news; for the office was ordinarily connected with announcements of the contrary import. According to current notions he would, in the scene recorded in chapter vii. have had the good fortune to have uttered with impunity a foolhardy challenge. Many of his oracles, moreover, were concerned with the fate of foreign nations, whose disasters were not likely to cause the Prophet's fellow-countrymen very acute suffering. But if these oracles were only occasional, whereas the Prophet's constant message was that sketched in chapter vi., of frequent recurrence in chapters i.–xxxix., and thoroughly elucidated in chapters xl.–lxvi., then the contempt and scorn which he had to endure are easily intelligible, and consonant with experience. The occasions on which he was called in were occasions

on which desperate remedies were required; Ahab calls in the services of Micaiah, and the murderers of Gedaliah those of Jeremiah under somewhat similar circumstances. The bulk of his time was spent in remonstrances which were ridiculed, and uttering predictions to which few attached any significance.

That we should not know the name of an author who has told us in verses 4–11 so much of his personal history would be remarkable; what could have put it into any one's mind to attribute them to the successful court Prophet of chapters xxxvi.–xxxix? Jeremiah would be the author with whose fate they would apparently correspond best. The valuable notice in xlii. 19 of the author's former name Meshullam seems intelligible only on the hypothesis stated above. Had it not been known that the author of that chapter bore the name Isaiah, the chapter (and the collection in which it occurred) would be of course attributed to Meshullam. Any one who has ever catalogued MSS. is aware that the first expedient adopted for finding out the name of an author is to search through his book for some proper name that may from the context be his. To those with whom classical Hebrew was a living language a proper name would be as easily distinguishable as to us in reading English; in such a sentence as "who is so pathetic as gray," the absence of the capital would confuse no intelligent reader; and hence, had not the readers of these oracles from the time they were first issued in a roll been convinced that the author's name was Isaiah, it would never have occurred to them to render Meshullam as "perfect," or "requited," or "devoted." But since the fact of the Prophet having changed his name was only recorded in the allusion of chapter viii. 18, his former name was forgotten. That "who so blind as Meshullam?" meant "who so blind as Isaiah before his mission?" was not perceived by those who only knew of

Isaiah. Even in this country, where a change of name is usually preceded by the most important work in a man's life, the name by which a peer was known before his elevation is constantly forgotten by the majority of the public. But where the change is preceded by no important work the original name is likely to be lost altogether. How many educated persons could say offhand what was the original name of Voltaire or Neander or Lagarde?

The arguments that can be drawn from language and style are ordinarily too inconclusive to have scientific value. The same writer, in different works or at different periods of his life, may employ wholly different sets of words and phrases; just as on the same day (as S. Ephraim well observes) he may hold contradictory opinions. On the other hand, admiration for a model may lead an imitator to employ with preference words and phrases found in that model; in which case what might at first sight seem to be an indication of identity is in reality an indication of the contrary. Still less can be built on those more subtle nuances which scholars profess to perceive without being able to state precisely what they mean. When a scholar of even the greatest eminence declares that he can tell by intuition that such-and-such an ode is not by Horace, or such-and-such a play is not by Shakespeare, it is best to attach no value whatever to the statement. For if such intuitions had scientific value, it is clear that every scholar who had acquired a certain degree of proficiency would feel the same; for that is the case with all intuitions that are really the result of skill. Those, *e.g.*, who have acquired a certain proficiency in photography know by intuition the right exposure to give in order to obtain a particular effect; and, therefore, they all give the same exposure. The intuition in such a case merely means extreme velocity in conducting an operation, which, in the case of less skilful operators, has to be gone through in detail. That in

the case of literary criticism these supposed intuitions are valueless is shown by the extraordinary divergence of the opinions of the highest experts. Of the Satires of Juvenal the tenth has won the poet the most lasting fame; it is more often quoted, and has been more frequently imitated than the others. But the foremost Latinist in Germany in recent times assured the world that it was not by Juvenal. The writings of Horace are supposed to be marked by so strong an individuality as to be inimitable; but there has during this century been a school in Holland and Germany which denies the Horatian authorship of every other ode; and that school contains some names of first-rate eminence. Bentley, whose fame to some extent rests on his exposure of ancient forgeries, held that the Epistles of Plato were genuine; but the majority of Greek scholarship is against him. What one expert thinks the finest line in Vergil is condemned by another as a silly interpolation. Hence to adduce arguments from any of these regions is to take the question out of the region of science.

A scientific argument can be drawn from the use of words only when they can be dated either before or after. By the latter method of dating I mean the case in which we can show that by a certain date the sense of a word had been entirely forgotten in a community; for then whoever is found using it in the old sense will almost certainly be earlier than that date. The discovery of this scientific principle is the service rendered the world by the Greek critic Aristarchus; let us see whether it will help us to determine the date of the "second Isaiah."

1. There is a verb *nāshath* used by Isaiah once in the first half of the book (xix. 5), and once in the second (xli. 17). In both those passages it clearly means "to be dry"; "the waters shall dry up from the Nile," and "their tongue is dry with thirst." It is well to know the etymology of a

word before we base any argument upon it: and here the surest source of Hebrew etymology, classical Arabic, does not fail us. The verb *nashifa* has from time immemorial been used by the Arabs precisely as Isaiah uses this. Thus the excellent native dictionary called "The Arabic Tongue" begins its article on this word as follows: "*nashifa*, used of water, *to dry up*: also used of the earth, *sucking it in*." After other illustrations we are told that it may be used of the udders of camels drying up, *i.e.* being without milk. Dozy, in his Supplement to the Arabic dictionaries, quotes from mediæval writers phrases in which this verb is used of the eyes being dry from tears, and of the saliva being dried by long talking. The sense, therefore, of this Arabic verb is precisely what is required in the passages of Isaiah. The change from *th* to *f* is certified in the case of some Arabic words.[1] The Arabic *sh* ought to be represented by Hebrew *s*; but this rule is not invariable, and in the present case the pointing may be to blame. What, therefore, appears is that the authors of both parts of Isaiah are acquainted with a verb *nashath* or *nasath*, meaning "to be dry," and in all probability identical with a very familiar Arabic verb meaning the same.

Now let us examine two passages of Jeremiah. The first is li. 30. "The champions of Babylon have ceased to fight; they sit in their fortresses: their manhood is *nashath*: they have become *women*" (*nashim*). The second clause is here evidently in explanation of the first; it tells us what *nashath* means, viz., "to become effeminate." The author regards it as a denominative from *nāshim* "women," probably through an abstract *nāshūth* "womanhood." Hence between the time when Isaiah II. wrote and the time of the composition of Jeremiah li. 30 the meaning of the verb *nashath* must have been forgotten. Therefore

[1] *Lisān al-'arab*, xv. 356.

the author of Isaiah xli. is earlier than the author of Jeremiah li. *by some generations.*

That this observation is correct is shown by Jeremiah xviii. 14. "Can the cool flowing waters be *destroyed*" (*nathash*)? That men do not speak of water being destroyed or plucked up is evident; the author must mean "can they dry up?" The phrase, then, is modelled on Isaiah xix. 5, but the later Prophet being no longer familiar with the old verb *nashath*, "to dry up," substitutes *by conjecture* the more familiar *nathash*. By the time li. 30 is written he has remembered that Isaiah uses not *nathash*, but *nashath*, in connection with waters drying; hence he gives it a special application, adding an etymological explanation. The process is very similar to that which was traced in the last article in reference to "the Lydians, drawers of the bow." Just as Isaiah utilized the lost book of Wisdom, so Jeremiah utilizes the language of the existing classic Isaiah. In the case of obsolete phrases he makes guesses, which, as philology is not the purpose of Holy Scripture, by the fact that they are unfortunate, give us valuable clues of date.

To show that this account of the passages in Jeremiah is in accordance with experience, I may produce a parallel from an author who has already been of help—Theocritus. The ancients were in doubt as to the meaning of a difficult word in Homer—ἔκηλος. Some thought it meant "peaceful, undisturbed," others thought it meant "idle." When Theocritus wrote Idyll xvii., he took the former view, and said (*v.* 97), "the people work at their business ἔκηλοι undisturbed." But when he wrote Idyll xxv., he had changed his opinion, and, speaking of the labourers on a farm, says, "there was no man ἔκηλος idle" (verse 100), but in order to show that he means this, he adds in the next line "in want of employment." So in Jeremiah xviii. 14 the view represented is that Isaiah's word for "to be

dry" is a transposition of a verb meaning "to extirpate"; but by li. 30 he has changed his opinion and connects it with the word for "women." Whence we may infer that Isaiah's works were to Jeremiah somewhat as Homer's were to Theocritus.

2. The book of Isaiah is rich in words for "sorcery" and "witchcraft." One of these, *shachar*, is homonymous with a word meaning "dawn." It is familiar in Arabic, where, indeed, it habitually stands for the "black art." The Armenian *skhareli*, "wonderful," "bewitching," cannot very well be separated from it; but to which language it of right belongs is not so clear. The word occurs first in a text of Isaiah which we had before us in the last paper: "assuredly they shall say unto you thus: 'there is no witchcraft for it'" (viii. 20). The corresponding verb is used in the second half of Isaiah (xlvii. 11), "there shall come upon thee an evil which thou canst not charm away." The fact that among the various synonyms for enchantment that occur in the Old Testament, this (which is so familiar in Arabic) is found only in the first half of Isaiah and in the second half of Isaiah, seems to me to be a striking mark of identity of period. Moreover, if the second Isaiah had borrowed the phrase from the first, we could scarcely imagine him handling it so freely as to make a denominative verb from it. There is, therefore, ground for supposing that this particular synonym for "sorcery" fell out of use shortly after Isaiah's time; probably because of its identity in form with the ordinary word for "the dawn," whence these two passages were wrongly explained till the methodical application of the study of Arabic to the explanation of the Hebrew text.

This seems to me a case of extreme interest as supplying an argument which cannot easily be eluded. For it is the phrase of Isaiah ii. which supplies us with the right, though not the obvious, explanation of that in Isaiah i. As we have

already seen, the explanations given by a later writer of first-class competence, Jeremiah, are by no means philologically correct; therefore a *later* writer would almost certainly have supposed Isaiah i. to mean "there is no dawn for it," as indeed we have seen that "Rabbi Simon" interpreted it. The amount of skill required to see that the words meant "there is no witchcraft for it," and freedom in handling the language requisite for the alteration of the phrase as it appears in Isaiah xlvii. 11, seem to me far beyond what any imitator could possess. On the other hand, if we consider the number of words used to denote things connected with witchcraft, and the frequency with which references to it occur in the Old Testament, it seems right to regard the equivalent of the Arabic *sihr* as a mark of date. This makes the authors of Isaiah viii. and xlvii. contemporary and probably identical.

Let us, as before, take some example nearer home than the Hebrew of the Old Testament to see whether this reasoning is correct. In a familiar passage of *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle speaks of a Baphometic Fire-Baptism, a phrase which occasioned his earliest reviewers some difficulty. But he who reads the *Miscellaneous Essays* will find in the Essay on the Life and Writings of Werner a passage that will completely explain the phrase. It came from a German play to which Carlyle had access, but which very likely no other English writer of the time had read. We have seen that the word for "sorcery" used by Isaiah may be Armenian, in which case it may have been learned from some Hittite. Isaiah would then have been familiar with a name for "sorcery" which was not in ordinary use.

3. In Isaiah x. 18 there occurs a difficult phrase, rendered in our Authorized Version "as when a standard-bearer fainteth." The meaning of this expression is probably lost; but it must have been known to the author of Isaiah lix. 19, "the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a

standard against him." For the same word (*nōsēs*) is here used, but in an entirely different context. There can, therefore, be no question of imitation; the Prophet must have known the meaning of the word though we do not know it, and the argument is unaffected by the question of the meaning which should be assigned it.

These three words would appear to be of real importance, because the argument drawn from them is of a sort that science recognises. The manner in which identity can best be proved in a court of law (where there has been no continuous residence) is by finding, if possible, some facts known only to a few persons, of whom the person with whom the claimant seeks to identify himself must be one; if, then, the claimant knows those facts, he gives fair presumption of the justice of his claim. The argument in this paper is of the same sort. No one save Isaiah appears to know anything of the worship connected with *gannoth* and *elim*, or to know the meaning of the words *nashath*, *shachar*, or *nōsēs*. Jeremiah, as we have seen, if he had claimed to be Isaiah I., would have had his claim disproved by the third of these words. Now the author of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. makes the same claim, and, when questioned on these five matters, turns out to know all about them. Whence it would appear that his claim is just.

The second class of examples are not as valuable, but still they seem deserving of consideration. Agriculture and natural history seem clearly to interest the author (or authors) of these oracles very much; and allusions to these subjects lead to the employment of a considerable number of technicalities. Whether a member of the exiled community would have had the opportunity of becoming so familiar with these subjects seems doubtful; but documents illustrating the life of the exiles may some day be discovered, which will enable us to speak positively on this matter. There are some facts about the use of these terms

in the two parts of the book which seem to me scarcely explicable on the hypothesis of divided authorship.

In the Parable of the Vineyard (v. 1–6) there occurs a word for "to hoe" (*'adar*, verse 6), and also a word for "to stone," meaning "to remove stones" (*sikkel*, verse 2). Both these verbs have other meanings, which are more familiar; but in the case of the vineyard there could be no mistaking their import, whence they are used without any explanation. However in vii. 25 the Prophet has occasion to use the word for "to hoe" in a less technical context, so this time he adds "with the hoe" that there may be no error. The author of lxii. 10 has occasion to use the word for "to stone" of a road, where it would be ambiguous; for "to stone a road" might mean to put stones on it or to remove them from it. Hence he adds "from stones" that there may be no error. Now either there never was an Isaiah, or the oracles of chapters v. and vii. are Isaianic. Therefore lxii. is also Isaianic. For it must be remembered that these words in their technical sense only occur in these two places. The theory that another author felt the same scruple about the second as Isaiah had felt about the first scarcely commends itself; a later imitator would have thought Isaiah's authority sufficient to justify him in using "to stone" for "to remove stones."

In xxxiv. 15, and twice in lix. 5, a verb (meaning literally "to split") is used of hatching serpents' eggs; it does not occur elsewhere in this sense. In xxxiv. 15 a special verb is used for "to be delivered of," "produce," which only occurs in lxvi. 7 besides. Jeremiah (xvii. 11) is apparently acquainted with part of this scientific vocabulary, but not with the word for "produce." Now the author of xxxiv. seems on other grounds identical with the "second Isaiah"; the reference to Edom and Bosrah in verse 5 cannot with any probability be separated from that in lxiii. 1, and the address to the "nations and peoples" in

xxxiv. 1 is evidently in the style of the author of xli. 1. The threat in xxxiv. 3 closely resembles that with which the book of Isaiah closes. Chapter xxxv. also cannot with any probability be separated from chapters xl.–lxvi.; both the thought and the language are closely akin to, and in part identical with, those of the "second Isaiah." On the other hand, it is by no means easy to separate xxxv. from what precedes; verse 5 takes us back to xxix. 18, and verse 4 to xxxii. 4. Now this fact hits the splitting theory very hard, for the apparent simplicity of the assumption that the prophecies of B being anonymous were tacked on to those of A is lost. Instead of the analysis A + B, or A + C + B, we get A + B + C + B, which has no probability; for why should B have got divided in two? And yet this order is really far simpler than any which a serious critic of the dissecting school could adopt.

A word for "a rush" (*agmōn*) occurs twice in the early chapters of Isaiah which seems also to have been known to the author of Job. As before, however, it is the "second Isaiah" who can tell us something definite about it: "to bow thy head as a rush" is a scornful utterance in lviii. 5. A word for a "branch" or "sucker" (*neser*) is found in both parts of the book, but is only used besides by Daniel. A word for a "tree trunk" occurs in xi. 1; this is also known to the author of Job, but it is from Isaiah xl. 24 that we are able to be sure of its signification.

These seem to be sufficient as additional illustrations of the fact that the "second Isaiah" is the best interpreter of the language of the "first Isaiah"; the limits of the ancient Hebrew vocabulary are unfortunately too little known to us to justify us in building much on identity of diction, except in the cases in which we can prove the words used to have been lost to the later language. If any ordinary book were divided near the middle, we should assuredly find that a certain proportion of the words used

in the first half recurred in the second; but the nature of that proportion would vary so very much with a variety of conditions that science has at present no use for calculations of this kind. It is clear that the employment of precisely the same vocabulary and entirely different vocabularies would be due to design; but probably no other inference of value could be drawn. Although, therefore, the tabulation of the Isaianic vocabulary gives the sort of proportion of identity and of diversity which would harmonize with the theory of a single author, it is best not to use arguments which science cannot recognise.

We may now arrange in order what seem scientific grounds for believing in the Unity of Isaiah.

1. The external evidence, so far as it can be traced, is unanimously in favour of it; and, since the second part of Isaiah has enjoyed exceptional popularity, it is improbable that the name of the author would have been forgotten within 200 years of the time when he wrote, and his work merged in that of a writer of a few scraps of 150 years before.

2. The theory which bisects Isaiah leads by a logical necessity to further and further dissection, and so to results which are absurd.

3. The geography of chapters xl.–lxvi. is earlier than the geography of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and a geographical notice in the last chapter of Isaiah was mistaken by Jeremiah.

4. The idolatrous practices rebuked by the second Isaiah are pre-exilian rites, such as we cannot, without anachronism, attribute to the Israelites either during or after the exile. They can only be explained as relics of a very primitive fetish-worship, connected with particular localities.

5. Other crimes rebuked by the second Isaiah are identical with crimes rebuked by the first Isaiah, and are

of a sort which imply the existence of an independent community long established on the soil.

6. The "second Isaiah" gives us some personal details which enable us to identify him with the Prophet of chapter vi., and, what is most important, tells us the name borne by the Prophet before he took the name Isaiah.

7. The second Isaiah employs words only known otherwise to the first Isaiah, of which the meaning was lost by Jeremiah's time.

8. The second Isaiah shows himself otherwise possessed of a scientific and technical vocabulary which the first Isaiah only shares with him.

Is there, then, nothing in the splitting theories? To my mind nothing at all. The phenomenon of prophecy is one which is at present scarcely understood; it belongs to a class of experiences which are not yet brought into the region of science, though it is conceivable that they may be. The words used by the prophets to describe their experiences imply that they were not ordinary; that they were bestowed only on particular individuals; and that they were often falsely claimed by persons who did not really entertain them. The process, therefore, by which the ostensible results of these experiences are denuded of their supernatural character and treated as ordinary utterances is only scientific if the profession of the prophets be shown to be false, *e.g.*, if the scene described in chapter vi. be shown to have been either a delusion or a dishonest invention. How this can be demonstrated is not obvious; but until it is demonstrated, the assumption that such experiences must be delusions is to be classed with the theory that nature abhors a vacuum, or with the belief that the orbits of the planets must of necessity be circular. Such assumption may lead to the writing of books, but they are not *science*.

Interpreting as commonplace that which is ostensibly extraordinary is unlikely to lead to a sound result. It is a process decidedly analogous to that of assuming that the colours of objects will affect the photographic plate precisely as they affect the eye, or that the tinting of the photographic plate will affect all colours equally. Nothing would seem more natural than such assumptions; but nothing would in reality be falser. When the laws of chemistry and optics are correctly made out, the picture seen by the eye can be interpreted in terms of the photographic plate; but before they are made out, such a process is impossible. It would appear that either the photograph must be incorrect or the eyesight must be defective. Science shows that neither is the case; the eye is correct and the plate is correct. But the optics of prophecy is a science that has not yet been started; and though such a science may never make much progress, nothing of value will result from the substitution of arbitrary assumptions for scientific deductions. Hence we have within the last few years seen a writer of eminence start a theory of Maccabean Psalms on a series of arbitrary assumptions and modify it on the faith of a forgery of the eleventh century A.D., which he grossly misdated; but had the former results been based on sound premises, nothing could have ever shaken them. It is on that ground that science is worth pursuing. The deductions which it produces may be important or they may be trifling; but once produced they last as long as this world shall last.

D. S. Margoliouth.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Holy Catholic Church (*continued*).

When we come to define the Church which has such a place in Christian thought and love, then we are at once face to face with a certain distinction which has led to much debate, and, it may be added, much confusion of thought. The Confession of Faith speaks of "the Visible Church, which is also Catholic or Universal" under the Gospel; and the Nineteenth Article of Religion says, "The Visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure of Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are duly administered." This form of words implies that there is a sense in which the Church is not visible, and the distinction comes practically to be between the Church of Christ, which consists of all the members of its body, who, from the beginning to the end, shall be saved through His sacrifice, and made perfect before God in Him, and that number of the same multitude who at any time are in this world and are bound together in Christian fellowship, of which the sign shall be those mentioned in the above article (although there may be other notes) that the "pure word is preached and the Sacraments are duly administered." Against this distinction many pious and learned theologians of the present day have strongly protested, contending that it has no warrant in Apostolic thought or early usage, and they are also haunted with the fear that the practical use of this distinction will be to belittle the Church Visible—the assembly of faithful people—and to palliate the sin of schism as well as to lower the obligation of holiness and the claims of brotherhood. Whether the distinction be necessary in thought and be implied in the teaching of our Lord and St. Paul is a matter to which I

am coming, but I wish to repudiate the suggestion that belief in the Church of all the ages, which is the Bride of the Lamb, should sap any one's loyalty to that portion of the Church which has not yet crossed the river but is still militant on earth, or that the profound sense that the Church of Christ is greater than the Church of Rome, or the Church of England, or the Church of Scotland, either separately or all together, must on that account render a Christian indifferent to any Church which is one of the Visible representatives of the Spiritual body of Christ or lessen his grief that, say, there should be in one city both a Roman and an Anglican Bishop exercising jurisdiction, and claiming the loyalty of Christ's people, to the confusion of faith, and the disunity of the Visible Church. With this spectacle before his eyes—and it is one of the most painful in the spiritual world—one must hold either that the Roman Bishop and his people, among whom he knows many saints, or the Anglican Bishop and his people, of whom he holds as high a judgment, are in a state of wilful separation from the Church of Christ, and therefore, to use Calvin's words, are "beyond the pale of salvation," or he must fall back upon some larger conception of the Church, which will unchurch neither of those congregations of Christian people. At the same time he may firmly believe that it is only through human ignorance and human sin that this division has come to pass, and that there ought to be in every city or land only one great congregation which shall be the Visible representative of the Body of Christ. Very likely Calvin may be censured because he speaks, like the Nineteenth Article, of the Visible Church instead of saying only the Church, but certainly his intention was not to justify unwarrantable separation from the historic Church of his day, since no one, not even the theologians of the Roman Church, has denounced more strongly the self-sufficiency and pride of those who call themselves by

the name of Christ, and yet refuse to live in Christ's Household.

When one inquires whether this way of looking at the Church from two sides, as it were, to which the words, less than felicitous, "visible" and "invisible" have been given can be justified, then he must turn, first of all to the Gospels to discover whether it was in the mind of Christ, Who is the supreme Reason. There surely can be no doubt, and that will be taken up later, that Jesus did not leave His Disciples to form some kind of society of their own accord, but that He established it with all the necessary conditions of such a body, and that His desire was that His Church should be Visible and Undivided, but there seems to me as little doubt that He had a larger vision which was not confined to the Visible Society in the world. He is declared by the fourth Evangelist to be the "True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and wherever this light has been welcomed and obeyed, there, doubtless, have been Christ's Disciples; "and Thou, O Lord," we may say with confidence, "wast their Redeemer, though the preached Word was ignorant of them, and the Church Visible acknowledged them not." He were a bold man, and something worse than bold, who should deny the Saints outside the pale of Judaism and of Christianity, and he surely holds less than the truth of the Incarnation, and does less than honour to the Lord, the only Saviour of mankind, who does not ascribe all virtue in such men unto Him Whom, not having known, they followed. Some place must be found for those lonely, beautiful souls who by their faith and charity have put Christian folk to shame, and, as there is no just use of words by which they could be called members of the Church Visible, we gladly acknowledge all who "lived or live with right reason, as members of the Church Invisible." No blame, of course, can be attached to them because they did

not belong to a Church of which they had never heard; but our Master goes farther, and extends charity to those who, being in contact with the company of His Disciples, yet for some reason remain separate. When St. John, seeing some one casting out devils in Jesus' name, asked the Master to forbid him, and that in the true ecclesiastical spirit, "because he followeth not us," Jesus said, "Forbid him not . . . He that is not against us is on our part." And in the same spirit was that great saying of His which remains for ever the standard of judgment as to who are Christians and who are not. "By their fruits ye shall know them." When Jesus taught the Samaritan woman the way everlasting, He told her that the exclusive dispensation of religion, binding it up with one nation and one form, was passing away, and that in days to come every one would be counted acceptable with the Father who worshipped the Father in spirit and in truth. And when Jesus laid down this weighty principle, we are not to understand that there would be no longer a Church, with its officers, and its rites, or that it would not be the duty and privilege of Christ's people to belong to it; but surely we are to understand that all men who worship God with a sincere and pure heart are within the Church. One also finds himself, I humbly submit, in the larger atmosphere when a woman from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, an alien from the covenant and promises of Israel, was, for the trying of her faith, refused by the Lord in language which He borrowed from the bigotry of the Jewish Church. He distinguished between the Jews who were children and her who was a dog. She vanquished Him in the end Who was willing to be vanquished, and the Lord not only granted her request, but declared His amazement at her faith. If Faith be the bond that binds the soul to Christ, conscious or unconscious, then there was not greater faith in Israel than that of this Canaanite woman. Is it not also signifi-

cant that this distinction of Invisible and Visible receives a sanction from our Lord's two related ideas of the Kingdom and the Church? For is not the Kingdom that universal sphere of goodness in heaven and in earth, from which no good man and no good thing can be excluded, but whose influence is secret and subtle, and the Church that corporate institution which can receive and cast out, which can be attacked and triumph over attack? If any one have the Kingdom of God within him, and there is the home of the Kingdom, then surely he must belong to the larger Church, for Christ is his King, and Christ's Spirit dwells in his heart.

When we pass into the period when the Church was an organized and recognised institution, and when we read the Epistles of St. Paul, it is a little perplexing to understand his attitude, and his references to the Church appear sometimes to have an air of unreality. Nothing can be more stately or more beautiful than the address to the Church with which he opens his letters. It is to the "Saints" he writes, to the "Faithful in Christ Jesus," to them who are "chosen in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world," to persons "called to be holy and without blame before Him in love." According to St. Paul, the Church is a body of people, whether in Ephesus or in Rome, separate from this world, united in Christ Jesus, showing forth His life, and holy even as He is holy. When we turn to any particular body of Christians whom St. Paul addresses after this lofty fashion, we suffer a great disillusionment, for one can hardly imagine a greater contrast between the salutation of St. Paul and the people whom he is addressing, between his description and their likeness. The members of the early Christian communities were bigoted, jealous, ungrateful, quarrelsome, and their lives were disfigured by gross sins of the heathen life which they had not yet completely thrown off. Nor was it only the purer Churches

whom St. Paul addressed as holy; he made no distinction of character in his opening salutation whatever he may have sometimes made of personal feeling. If he called those excellent Philippians, who had been so kind to him and so generous in all their ways, "Saints in Christ Jesus," he spoke of the Corinthians as "sanctified in Christ Jesus and called to be Saints," yet he had to complain of the Corinthians that one of their number was guilty of a horrible sin, that some had been intoxicated at the Lord's Supper, that others had despised His Gospel, that others had spoken of himself with contemptuous ingratitude. Surely it is courtesy, or formality carried to a dangerous extent, to apply the word Saint to such people, and to refer to them as sanctified; yet there never was a man more sincere than St. Paul, never any one who dealt more closely with the facts of spiritual life. What is the explanation of this paradox, that St. Paul should begin his letter to the Corinthians with the word Saints, and a little later should be using the word fornication?

The explanation must be sought in the magnificent spiritual imagination of St. Paul, which was not confined by the things which are seen and temporal, but lived among the things which are unseen and eternal. Two worlds were his, this imperfect and corrupt world, which is passing away, and the perfect and holy world which remaineth. The real, which was often lamentable enough, disappeared in the vision of St. Paul before the ideal, and he saw not the thing which was, but the thing which was to be. When he looked upon a Christian Disciple, he saw not a Roman slave, ignorant, unclean, half brutalized, beset by the inevitable sins of his lot, an abject of humanity, but he saw a man who had been crucified with Christ upon the Cross, who had died with Christ unto this present world, who had risen with Christ from the dead, breaking all bonds, and now was seated with Christ in the heavenly places.

This diseased, and broken, and unsightly man Christ had loved from all eternity; for him Christ had laid down His life, and this man Christ had purchased with His own precious blood. This was not a bondsman, he was a son of God; he was not a miserable, he had all spiritual blessings in the heavenly places; he was not an evil-doer, he was a Saint. He beheld the man in Christ Jesus, and it was in Christ Jesus St. Paul beheld all things. The life which Christ was living in the heavenly places was the life His Disciples were living in idea, and would one time live in reality; and, therefore, when St. Paul addressed the Church, he thought of it as spiritual, the body of the Lord crucified, dead, risen, holy, the congregation of all the saints. This is the Church Invisible, because in its ideal beauty it can only be seen by faith—by those who can see it in the Lord. Turning, then, as it were from heaven to earth, and from Christ to Christians, he found in Corinth a company of self-conceited, contentious, ungrateful, and evil-living people, whom he must rebuke and teach and guard and endure, if haply, through his work and the grace of God, the real may be purified and elevated till it passes at last into the ideal, and even the Corinthian Church be presented as a pure Virgin unto Christ. This is the Church Visible; and the contradiction which every one must have felt between the address at the beginning of St. Paul's letter and the contents of the letter is due not to the Apostle's unreality, but to his spirituality, and nothing is more likely to lift the Visible communities of Christian folk above this world and above their own sin than the constant vision of that glorious Body of Christ, which with her Lord is trampling this world and sin and death under her feet. The Church Invisible is at once the condemnation and the inspiration of the Church Visible.

When St. Paul carries about with him this distinction between an unseen perfection and a seen imperfection

which are closely related together, he is not thinking otherwise than we do ourselves. There is perfect beauty which is only suggested to us by the finest picture we have ever seen, there is perfect truth which is poorly shadowed by the deepest creeds we say, there is perfect life which is scantily embodied in the strongest man, there is perfect holiness which puts to shame the best man we have known. Within our minds we carry those ideals, and we see the real reaching after them and witnessing to them; and so behind the visible lies the invisible. If there be no other Church of Christ than that which we behold, torn by schism, coarsened by the world's spirit, corrupted by gross sin, then it is vain to talk of the Lord's Body, and the Bride of the Lamb. As one looks, however, more closely into the life of Christ's disciples on earth, he sees the faint traces of a character which is not of this world, a hard-fought battle with sin which carries with it the pledge of victory, and an aspiration after the Highest which is the prophecy of its own fulfilment. This character means some type after which it is being formed; this fight means some living force which is working to an end; this aspiration means some hope which will not make ashamed. The light begins to shine through the coarse screen, and as we look we forget the Church visible, and are comforted and inspired by the mystical figure of the Church, invisible to sight, but visible and altogether lovely unto every one who being in the Spirit hath seen an open heaven and Jesus at the right hand of God.

If any one believes that the Church is the mystical Body of the Lord, it follows that he must believe also in her unity, for the Body of Christ cannot be divided, but must be one through all the ages, and behind all circumstances. Between the innumerable Saints from the first, who saw Christ afar off, and reached forward to receive Him to the last, who shall hear the call of the Evangel, there will be incalculable differences of character, of experience, of know-

ledge, and of service, but in heart the Saints will be one—one in faith, because they believe in the same Lord ; one in hope, because they wait for the same event ; one in charity, because the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts. When Isaiah and St. John and St. Francis and John Bunyan meet, that wherein they differ in time and associations and theology fades away, and they greet one another as brethren in Christ Jesus. Being one with Christ and rivals in their love to the Lord, they are united one to other in a bond which the influences of this present time could not break, which the life of eternity will only confirm. When the devout disciple receives the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, and celebrates His dying love, he is united not only to the little company of fellow-communicants in a house made with hands, but also with all Christ's Disciples throughout the world, with those also whom He loves and has lost awhile, and with all the Saints who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Though He be the least of all the Saints, and the chief of sinners, yet hath he a place in the heart of the Lord, and his name is written in the Lamb's book of life. Therefore the chief of Saints must bid him welcome, and will not dare to cast him out. This is the one perfect fellowship within human knowledge, wherein all have one mind and one heart and one life, and within this fellowship is made known the mystery of the Divine will, "That in the dispensation of the fulness of time He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth."

No imagery is too strong or too intimate to illustrate and enforce this unity, which was one of the deepest desires of the Lord, which He died to make possible, which He lives to make real. The centre of the unity is ever Christ Himself risen from the dead and alive for evermore ; and the condition of the unity is fellowship with Him by the

Holy Ghost. He is the vine whom His Father planteth, and every disciple is a branch thereof, drawing his sap from the central stock and partner with every other branch, because he is partner with Christ. No branch can cast out another branch; no branch can add another. One power only can engraft; one power only can cut off. For the unity stands not in the relation of the branches one to another, but in the relation of them all to Christ. The Lord is the foundation stone which the builders did despise, but Who has become for ever the head of the corner. And upon this foundation, not upon creeds, nor rites, but on the living person of Christ, rests every Christian soul, as a living stone upon the one foundation. Resting upon this one stone the others are compactly built together, and form a Temple for the habitation of God; apart from this foundation they are but a heap of stones scattered, disconnected, unprofitable. If any one be separate from Christ, then is he no part of the Divine Temple; if any one be resting on the Lord as his God and Saviour, then is he so built into the structure of God's Eternal House, that no hand of man can remove the stone. Christ is the Head, and His disciples are members of the Body, some of greater honour and some of less, but yet each one a part of the living organism. By faith the disciple has been born again into this new life, and by faith he continues therein; and though he be the humblest of all the members of Christ's Body, the minutest and most distant part, yet to it the blood flows from the heart, and it also is directed by the Head; and if it is hurt, every member of the Body suffers also, and the Head is the first to feel and sorrow. Christ is the Bridegroom, and the Church is the Bride, whom He has not only woed, but also redeemed; and so every member of the Church is married unto Christ in a covenant which cannot be broken. From Christ the believer receives the right to his name, under the protection of Christ he lives, between him and Christ no one has any

power to come, and the intimacy and sanctity of the marriage state is but the shadow of the union between Christ and the souls which make His Church.

So profound and mysterious is this union first between Christ and the soul, and then in Christ between all Christian souls, that the Lord uses illustrations which transcend human knowledge. The unity of the Church is to be so spiritual, so unlimited, so lifted above time and space and every visible condition, so tender also, so gracious, and so holy, that it is to be like unto the relation of the persons in the Holy Trinity. As the High Priest and Head of His Church, Christ lifted up His hands to God before He offered His sacrifice, and now lifts them up for ever in the heavenly places, with the signs of sacrifice upon them, that the multitude of His disciples may be one in God the Father and in Him, according to the measure wherein the Father and the Son are one. As the Father and the Son have ever one thought, so that the Son is the Word of God, and have done one work, so that whatsoever the Son saw the Father do, that He also did, and one love, so that the Son lay in the bosom of the Father, and one life, so that the Son liveth by the Father; the Church is to be won in truth, in work, in love, and in life. "I in them and Thou in me that they may be made perfect in one."

The unity of the Church, according to the idea of the Lord, is first of all spiritual, and would exist although there were no visible organized body upon earth, as the unity of the Trinity existed before the incarnation of the Son, yet no one can read the mediatorial prayer of Christ without being persuaded that the unity of the Church should be realized and presented to the world. When the world saw a multitude of people of every nation, of every degree, of every disposition, of every circumstance, bound together in one, for the most heavenly ends and on the most gracious conditions, then the world would

have an unanswerable evidence that a new power was working in the midst of human life, and that God Himself was with us. The Incarnation of the Lord would be as it were continued and vindicated by this vast harmonious spiritual body which He inhabited, and the world would know "that Thou hast sent me and hast loved them as Thou hast loved me." It were strange, therefore, and one is amazed that devout and earnest men can be satisfied with such an idea of the Church visible, that Christ should give no directions for the organization and government of this great society on earth, but should leave His disciples to form societies of any kind they pleased, as many as might be convenient, and at any time which seemed expedient. The question is not whether the Jewish synagogue had not a certain system of government which was partly taken over into the Christian Church, nor whether the union of Christians in some sort of society was not a fulfilment of a natural desire for fellowship, nor whether the creation of a religious society did not receive a certain sanction and support from the existence of many philanthropic guilds throughout the Roman empire in the first century; nor is it whether the Christian Church did not develop the original organization given by the Lord and His Apostles. The question is this, whether Christ Himself laid down with His Divine authority the foundation of that universal society which was to be on earth the embodiment of the Church Invisible and Eternal. Is not the evidence conclusive? Did He not preach during all His ministry the doctrine of the Kingdom, and is not kingdom the strongest word for society? Did He not declare that He was Himself its Head, Whose teaching alone was authoritative, Whose presence was omnipotent, Whose judgment was to be final. Was there not a condition of admission into this society—faith in Himself? Was there not a condition of fellowship—love to God and man?

Were there not to be rewards to them who were faithful, punishments for them who were unfaithful? Did He not call twelve officers and place in their hands the government of the Church and its treasure of truth? Did He not institute two sacraments, the one to be the sign of union to Himself and through Him to the Church, the other to be the sign of communion with Him and through Him with the Church? With a chief officer, with rules and rites surely we have a society which may develop its organization to meet new circumstances, and apply its power in new directions, but which from the beginning has a constitution and an authority, and we are justified in saying that Christ gave her constitution to the Church during the days of His ministry, and that constitution was carried into effect in the period of His Apostles.

It is difficult also to resist the conviction that Christ intended that His Visible Church should be one society the world over instead of being divided into sections warring with one another and making sport for an unbelieving world. Surely every one will agree that it were more becoming, and therefore more in keeping with the mind of Christ, that in every country there should be one Church—the Church of Scotland or of England, by which is intended the Church of Christ in Scotland or England—and not half a dozen Churches; that in every parish there should be one place of worship where all should meet in the name of the Lord, not half a dozen fighting for the possession of the people. Nothing can more certainly hinder the faith of the world, and nothing has so weakened the energies of Christian people and so afflicted their hearts, as the schisms and feuds by which Christ's visible Church has been rent asunder.

When the Church Visible, which is the shadow of the Church Invisible, is rent—for the spiritual Body must ever be undivided—then the cause is always one and the same,

and it ought to lie much more heavily both upon the heart and conscience of believing Christians. The division of the Church into sects, whether Roman, Anglican, Scots, or Nonconformists, since any division does mean section, is not an accident, nor a misfortune, and certainly not an ingenious design to stir up the Church into greater activity, but is a distinct and flagrant sin. If Christian people, gathered in the name of the Lord Jesus and calling one another brethren, had obeyed Christ's commandments and yielded to the guidance of the Lord's Spirit, they had lived in purity and in charity, as did the Christians of Pentecost, and the Church on earth had been one to-day, as the Church in Heaven is one, and she had been "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." Wherever there is holiness there is unity, wherever there is unholiness there is strife, and it was because the vision of the Lord grew dim and discipline was relaxed, and the world cast her tangling veil round the Christian heart, and brotherly love died into ashes, that the fair Church of Christ was scattered into contending fragments and became a scandal in the face of men. No doubt the divisions of the Church have been made the means of calling her to repentance and restoring purity, of moving her to good works and vast sacrifices, were it only through the criticism and rivalry of separate Christian bodies; but this does not mean that such divisions were the methods of the Lord, or that He had any pleasure when one crieth, "I am of Paul," and another, "I am of Cephas." What it means is that the Lord, Whose grace is marvellous as it is mighty, has caused light to arise out of darkness, and has made the wrath of men to praise Him, so that in the good which has come from this vast evil we have another illustration of the Apostle's triumphant word, "where sin abounded grace has much more abounded."

While schism is a sin both against Christ, the Head of

the Church, and the Church, which is His Body, it is not to be taken for granted that the sinners are those who are separated from the original and historic visible society. It may be, and it certainly often has been, that people have left that branch of the Christian Church into which they were born and baptized on grounds which cannot be justified because their pride had been offended, or their self-will checked, or because their brethren were poor and they desired the company of rich men. Secession from the Church of one's fathers on such grounds proves a frivolous and worldly temper of mind, and has deserved the censure both of Christ's people and of the Lord's. No one ought to leave his fold unless he be driven out, and unless he have good reason to believe that the Shepherd has been driven out with him, and in that case the fold to which he goes is the fold of Christ, and he carries the Church with him. If at any time the Church, for instance, becomes so impure that the Ten Commandments of Moses, to say nothing of the greater eleventh commandment of the Lord, are broken without rebuke, and the name of Christ's ordained ministers becomes a synonym in the satire of the day for a rascal and an evil liver, and if redress be asked from the governors of the Church and be refused, then, in honour to Christ and to conscience, nothing remains for Christian people but to depart from this polluted place and to build another purer home for the Lord. When such faithful men depart with sore hearts, they leave not the Church, they leave what is for the time the synagogue of Satan; they leave not their Lord, but the spirit of evil which has taken His place. The Lord goes with them in their exodus because they are keeping His words and following in His steps, and they are not the schismatics who are cleaving to their Saviour in obedience and holiness, but they are the schismatics who have denied the Lord and put Him to shame in His own house, who

have driven out both the Master and His disciples. If the chiefs of an army become disloyal to their king, and have entered into an open alliance with the enemy, then they are not the mutineers, even though they be only private soldiers, who break the bonds of discipline and desert to reform the army in the name of their king and for the support of his cause. They carry the colours with them which are of no use to the other side; they are the army, and they have kept their sacramental oaths. When the king holds his court and judges between the loyal and the disloyal, he will not punish the soldiers who disobeyed the order of treason, but he will sharply judge the generals who betrayed their trust. And for such generals to accuse such soldiers and in such circumstances of mutiny—for the Borgias to accuse the saints of disloyalty—is the most monstrous irony in history.

Suppose, again, the State should lay so strong and profane a hand upon the Church that the civil power, through, it may be, an unbelieving and evil-living man, appoints the highest officers of Christ's house, and the Church must receive them whether they be spiritual or unspiritual men, and must even admit them to their offices with the sacred rites of Christ's appointment, till it be the Emperor of Rome, Nero or another, who reigns over Christ's Church. What, then, is the duty of His true disciples when they have done their utmost to cast out this usurper and to restore to the Church her freedom in Christ Jesus, and have failed because the world within the Church has become stronger than her Lord? Must they not leave this Egypt and all its treasure of riches and of rank and go out into the wilderness to serve Him in peace Who lived not in palaces, Who knew not where to lay His head? Will the Lord remain with the Emperor or go with His disciples? Is this institution the Church of the Galilean or the creation of kings? Have they not been true lovers of

the Bride of Christ, who could not bear to see her amid the luxury and seduction of Solomon's palace, but have brought her out, where in simplicity and in poverty she may keep the covenant of her heart with her beloved? They are not the schismatics whose love to Christ many waters could not quench, nor could the floods drown. They are the worst of schismatics, who, for the sake of a fair vineyard, whose keepers bring each one "a thousand pieces of silver," would sell the chastity of Christ's pure Bride.

When the Church Visible has been divided by her own sin, a new situation is created, and it is vain for any single part of the divided Church, Rome or another, to claim to be the original Church with an exclusive succession and authority. The Church of Rome made the position intolerable for the Church of England, and the Church of England compelled many of her godly ministers to leave her communion, though not the Communion of the Lord, for conscience sake, in the seventeenth century, and the Church of Scotland, by slavish submission to the State, lost a goodly portion of her clergy and people in 1843. Amid this lamentable confusion no Church has any right to exalt its head above its neighbours, but each Church must prove its right to be a true representative of Christ's one Church. Various tests may be justly proposed, but each one ought to be charitably applied. One is, that a Church hold the faith of the Saints and preach the pure Gospel of Christ, and that the two Sacraments of Christ's appointment be reverently administered. Another is, that her members keep the commandments of the Lord, and live together in brotherly love, showing forth the Lord's life, and commending Him unto the world by their talk and conversation. The chief and final test must always be that laid down by the Lord Himself, and which cannot be evaded—"by their fruits ye shall know them." Wherever people live the Christ life, there surely are so many Christians, or else the

evidence of religion has no meaning, and the relation between the soul and Jesus Christ is only a name. If twenty people separate themselves from the historic Church in some age of intolerable corruption, and meet to worship the Lord in an upper room, each one a true believer in His name, and a humble follower in His steps, are they to be considered outside the Church of God and the pale of salvation? If this be so, then Christ and the Church are in sharp collision, and one or the other must be wrong. The Church cuts off their names from her roll, but they are written in the Lamb's Book of Life. The Church casts them forth from her fellowship, but Christ has them in His heart. The Church holds out no hope for them, but Christ has gone to Heaven to prepare a place for them. When Christ said, "Him that cometh unto Me," those twenty people came, and now the word of Christ holdeth true, "I will in no wise cast him out." Excommunicated by the Church, they are received by the Lord; condemned by the Church, they are justified by the Lord; persecuted by the Church, they are comforted by the Lord. Who shall separate between them and Christ? Who can deprive them of His love and of His friendship? When they are cast out, Christ also is cast out; where they go He goes; where they live He lives; where they suffer He suffers; and in the world to come where He is there they also shall be, or else the invitation of the Gospel and the promises of the Lord shall be broken, and the sacrifice and intercession of the Lord be of no avail. We do not come to our Lord through the Church, and no authority of the Church can make us a member of His body; we come into the Church by coming to Christ, and He is in the Church now and for ever, who is in Christ Jesus, a member of the Church Spiritual and Eternal, although the whole of the Church Visible should declare Him to be accursed. When the Bishop of Vasona was pronouncing the degradation of Savonarola, he was so

shaken, as he might well be by his spiritual insolence, that he made a mistake in the formula of excommunication. "I separate thee from the Church Militant and Triumphant," he said, whereupon Savonarola cried in a tone that pierced to the soul of all who heard, "From the Church Militant, not from the Church Triumphant, for that is not within thy power." It is possible to cast out from the Visible society, and many a Saint of God has been cast out from the Lord Himself, Who was excommunicated by the Jewish Church, to the Prophet of Florence, who was degraded by the Romans; but no man can cast his brother from the Church, which is in God the Father and in our Lord Jesus Christ. "Hoc enim tuum non est" is a mighty truth, beating down the pride of men and setting a limit to their power. It is the protection of Christian liberty and the vindication of the supreme authority of Christ, Who is Lord in His own house. He that believeth and he that loveth is the friend of Jesus; and where two or three disciples are gathered together in the Lord's name, there is the Church, for there is Christ. Heresies there are and schisms, "nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, 'The Lord knoweth them that are His.' And, 'Let every one that loveth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.'"

While the unity of the Church is in its essence spiritual, depending upon the relation of the soul to Christ, and the denial of this spirituality is profanity, yet every true disciple of Christ must pray also for that unity which is present and visible. He is not to be approved who belittles it, he will not be lightly judged who has wantonly broken it, he will be severely punished who has caused his brethren to break it against their will. Blessed is he who longs for the day when, from the rising to the setting of the sun, and from pole to pole, there shall be one Church Catholic and Apostolic, Holy and Undivided. Blessed is he who labours by

speech or deed to remove offences from between brethren, to bring together those who have been long separated, to widen the bonds of fellowship in Christ; blessed the man who shall see the day when the walls of Jerusalem have been rebuilt, and the Church of God be as a city that is compact together, whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord." Until that day come, let us pray for the peace of Christendom, and let every one prosper who loveth the Church of Christ.

JOHN WATSON.

THE NATURE OF HOLINESS.

THE life of holiness is both an essentially separate and an essentially social life. Inwardly it is a life of separateness: outwardly, a life of fellowship. Contradictory as these two qualities, separateness and fellowship, may seem, both are indispensable to holiness. If either be lacking to our holiness, its nature is not complete and full.

The failure to perceive this essential, however seemingly contradictory, dualism in the nature of holiness has been the source of innumerable injuries to the Christian faith. It has been the cause of monasticism on the one hand, and of religious worldliness on the other. The monk is separate without being social, the religious worldling is social without being separate. Neither of them is completely Christian. Each is deficient in one of the cardinal properties of holiness. Both, as we shall afterwards see, are partially disloyal to the gospel of the Incarnation, which is the gospel of true holiness.

The Bible is the greatest of all authorities upon holiness. And when we inquire of the Bible concerning the nature of the holiness, whether of persons or things, we find that

one of its chief characteristics is separateness. To sanctify means to separate. The sanctification of the tabernacle, of the firstborn, of the Sabbath Day, of the priestly garments, signified their separation from common and profane uses, and their dedication to the service of God. Similarly with holy persons. The Bible expects them to be distinct. It describes the children of the Lord as an elect race, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a people marked out for God's own possession. The people for whom our Saviour Christ gave Himself are said to be a peculiar people.[1] Sanctified things and sanctified persons are, therefore, in the Scriptural sense of the terms, persons and things set apart. No person and no thing is regarded in the Bible as holy unless fenced off from ordinary persons and ordinary things. Without separation there can be no sanctification. Distinctiveness is an indispensable quality of holiness.

Upon further inquiry from the Bible, we find that this necessary distinctiveness is of a quite remarkable character. It is a distinctiveness not of form and appearance so much as of purpose and object. The ground about the Burning Bush, for example, was not externally different from that of the neighbouring wilderness. The incense of Moses and Aaron was chemically similar to that of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The ark of God was made of ordinary shittim wood, and overlaid with ordinary gold. The Sabbath, regarded astronomically, was not unlike any other day of the week. The stones of the temple were cut from common quarries, and set like the stones of other buildings. In outward appearance hardly any of these things were distinct or peculiar. Yet were they separate, sanctified, holy. God told Moses that the ground about the Burning Bush was holy ground. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were consumed for burning their incense before the Lord. Uzzah

[1] Deut. xiv. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Tit. ii. 14.

was smitten to death for putting out his hand to steady the Ark. The Sabbath was a kind of sacramental sign between Jehovah and Israel. And our Lord's anger was specially kindled against those who treated the temple courts as a market place; or, in their irreverence, were forgetful that the temple was the heavenly Father's house, the house of prayer.[1]

Under the Jewish dispensation, therefore, we find that the holiness of places, and institutions, and things, was a holiness whose distinctive separation consisted not in any peculiarity of appearance, but in special dedication to a spiritual purpose. Looking from without upon things sanctified, very little difference could be discerned between them and things unsanctified — frequently, indeed, no difference at all. Their separation unto holiness was only recognisable through the realization of the peculiar purposes for which they were set apart.

A similar combination of apparent sameness, with actual difference, is manifest in the holiness of Christian institutions and Christian ordinances. The Christian Sunday, in the reckoning of an almanack, counts only as any other day. The Christian Bible is printed from ordinary type, and on a library shelf looks much the same as other books. The waters of Holy Baptism are common waters. The bread and wine of the Lord's Supper are made from ordinary flour and ordinary grapes. Many of the early Christian churches were fashioned on the pattern of the Pagan basilicas. Yet everybody knows that the Christian Sunday is a peculiar day—the day of the creation of light, the day of our Redeemer's resurrection, the day of the great descent of the Holy Ghost, the day on which multitudes of persons discover a way of special access to God through the avenues of worship. The Bible, too, as all

[1] Exod. iii. 5; Num. xvi.; 1 Chron. xiii. 10, 11; Isa. lviii. 13 Matt. xxi. 12; John ii. 15.

true spiritual students find, stands absolutely by itself in its capacity for inspiration and exalting power. And large numbers of sober-minded, fact-loving persons (persons in no degree addicted to the fancies of superstition) have testified that the waters of Baptism and the foods of the Communion have been the means of a very real cleansing and a very real strengthening of their souls.

And what is true of holy institutions, and holy places, and holy things, is true also of holy persons. In one signal property, indeed, the holiness of persons is fundamentally different from the holiness of things. Holy things are not conscious of their separation unto holiness. Holy persons, on the contrary, are deeply conscious of it: conscious of it in themselves, conscious of it before God. But their consciousness of it is not, of necessity, displayed by any seclusive sign or any professional mark conspicuous to others. Their hallowing is essentially an inward hallowing. It is not a separation of dress, or vocation, or traditional rule; but of aim, and character, and life. The inward spirit, and not the outward profession, is one chief test of true holiness.

And if inward separation, inward hallowing, be one chief test of genuine holiness, another test, equally important, is fellowship. Social commingling is as necessary a part of the nature of true holiness as spiritual separation. This is one of the keynotes of our Lord's great valedictory prayer for His disciples. "Father, take them not out of the world, but keep them from its evil." [1] The social character of our Lord's life is one of its most remarkable features. He came "eating and drinking." [2] By far the larger part of His life was spent in His village home, not improbably at work at His foster-father's trade. The common taunt levelled against Him was that He "was a carpenter." [3] His first great manifestation of His Divinity

[1] John xvii. 15. [2] Matt. xi. 19. [3] Matt. xiii. 55.

was at a marriage feast. His first miracle was a social miracle. His periods of seclusion were rare and brief. At times, indeed, He went to a desert place to rest awhile, or withdrew to a mountain to pray, or was taken by the Spirit into the wilderness for some great wrestling with the Evil One; but He was soon back again healing the sick, casting out devils, preaching to the poor.[1] He wore no phylacteries or conspicuous clothing. He did not stand apart at the corners of the streets to pray. He kept His fastings secretly. When He did some kindly act, He "would have no man know it."[2] It is true that "He could not be hid."[3] But whatever notice He attracted was involuntary. He never wrought a single sign to draw attention to Himself. His light shone to His Father's glory. His works testified of Him. The great witness of His holiness was His work for men, and among men. He does not seem to have been distinguished by any mark of outward custom or appearance. He was altogether separate from the world inwardly. But His inward separation was principally testified by the tremendous energy of His social life; His mingling with the people for the people's good.

Sometimes, indeed, holy persons do wear a distinctive dress, and restrict themselves to a distinctive diet. John the Baptist was one of this class. But it should be noted that even the Baptist's life was not a wholly secluded, far less a self-centred life. He prepared the way of the Lord by his activities. He preached, he baptized, he thundered against the ceremonial sanctities of the Pharisees, and the indolent scepticism of the Sadducees. He rebuked the immoralities of those in high places. He was a sublime social reformer. He forbade the tax-gatherers to commit injustice. He reproached the Roman soldiers for their arrogance, their false swearing, and their dis-

[1] Mark vi. 31; Luke vi. 12; Matt. xi. 5; Matt. iv. 1. [2] Matt. iv. 30.
[3] Mark vii. 24.

content.[1] Though his own raiment was of camel's hair, and his food locusts and wild honey, yet he made the great proclamation that the true test of repentance is its fruit, its work for God in the world. He majestically predicted that the day was coming when hereditary religious privileges, caste religions of all kinds, would be as the stones of a common house; and all flesh should see the salvation of God. He never publicly alluded to his hair shirt or his desert food. It nowhere appears that he attached any special importance to them. They were a reminiscence, a visible memorial, of the great Elijah; a token of the revival of the spirit of Elijah among men—a spirit of religious reformation founded on the rock of holy righteousness. The important element in the mission both of Elijah and the Baptist was not the roughness of their raiment, or the simplicity of their diet; but the purification of public morals, and the deepening before God of man's personal life. Neither Elijah nor the Baptist founded an order. Neither of them imposed a code of regulations concerning garb or food upon their followers. Ascetics themselves, they did not enjoin asceticism on others. The sternness of Elijah received a strong rebuke when the great revelation was made to him that the Divine Presence was not in earthquake, or fire, but in the still small voices which gently whisper to men.[2] The austere Baptist, too, although declared to be the greatest of those hitherto born of woman, was yet also declared less than the least in the kingdom of Heaven.[3] Thus it is clear that the Bible assigns no special merit to the asceticism either of the Old Testament or the New Testament Elijah. It is what these holy men did and taught for God amongst their fellows upon which the Bible lays stress; not upon their singular austerities of diet and dress. The important

[1] Luke iii. 7–14. [2] 1 Kings xix. 12. [3] Matt. xi. 11.

events in their history are the social events; the purification of public worship as on Mount Carmel, the miracle wrought to restore the broken happiness of a death-stricken home, the vengeance predicted upon the murderous theft of Naboth's vineyard, the vindication of the purity of married life in defence of which the Baptist died a martyr's death.[1]

It was the social element in the work of both Elijah and the Baptist which preserved their severities from deteriorating into selfishness. Their history proves, as the history of the Church has subsequently proved in numerous instances, that asceticism is not necessarily destructive of holiness. It proves that even asceticism, when energized by the social impulse, is quite compatible with holiness. At the same time it must be confessed that the Bible nowhere recognises in asceticism the highest type of holiness. Our Lord Himself, as we have already seen, was no ascetic; neither were any of His Apostles. St. Peter was a married man; so probably was St. John.[2] The great majority of the Apostles were men of a social and domestic type. Even St. Paul's preference for the celibate life was not grounded on any assumption of its spiritual superiority above the married life, but solely upon considerations of utility.[3] He preferred to be free from all household cares that he might devote himself the more fully to the social service of Christianity. Similarly he praised the self-sacrifice of women who abstained from marriage in order that they might give themselves up wholly to work for the Lord. It is in this sense only, the greater freedom for work, that St. Paul affirms the unmarried life, whether of women or men, to be preferable to the married life. And even to this restricted sense he is most careful to add, evidently feeling that the matter was non-essential, "I speak this by permission, and

[1] 1 Kings xvii., xviii., xxi.; Matt. xiv. 4.
[2] Matt. viii. 14; John xix. 27. [3] 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33.

not of commandment." [1] All that St. Paul maintains concerning celibacy is that, in his judgment, the single life may be more useful in the service of Christ; more useful, particularly for mission work, than the married life. He nowhere ascribes to it greater sanctity. Nor does he confuse the celibate with the secluded life. His celibates are to devote themselves to the social service of the Church, to carry its message to the world, to minister in offices of charity and goodwill to men. The only justification he gives for celibacy is its greater opportunities for social work. No one knew better than St. Paul the tremendous perils which beset celibacy when sundered from the all-absorbing activities of work for Christ.[2] The only salvation of celibacy is work, and particularly social work for God. Without this social energy celibacy is neither a safe nor a completely holy life. For the highest type of all holiness is the type of Christ and His Apostles; and their holiness was both separate and social—inwardly separate towards God and outwardly social towards men.

We may further observe that the separateness inherent in holiness is not separateness for its own sake. Holiness endures separation from others for the sake of others. Its separateness is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. That end is the social good. If separateness does not result in social blessing, then, in the judgment of holiness, it is a failure. This is true, not only of Christian people, but of Christian institutions and Christian ordinances also. Sunday, for example, is not separate from other days for the mere sake of separateness. It is separate in order that it may leaven all other days with its hallowing influence. Sunday is a failure unless it makes the whole week Christian. So, too, with every institution of a true, holy sort. Its holiness is hidden like leaven in meal; but it leavens the whole lump in which it

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 6. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 2–9; Col. ii. 23.

is. One sure test of the holiness of the Catholic Church is its capacity to hallow the world at large, to set up a church in every house and a chapel in every heart. No Church is holy, however secluded and separate, which is not hard at work in the world to hallow the world. Our Bible reading, too, is not holy reading if it is mere separate reading—reading out of all touch and relation with our other reading. If our Bible reading does not hallow all our reading, it is not successful spiritual reading. Studied aright, the Book of God teaches us to find God in all our books. It teaches us also to care little for books in which God may not be found, if not in name, yet in the hidden truths, whether of fiction or fact, of poetry or prose.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this union of inward separateness and social service in holy ordinances more clearly exemplified than in the two great Christian sacraments. Holy Baptism is a personal regeneration, an inward washing and illumination; yet is it also an outward grafting, a visible incorporation, into the body of Christ's Church. Holy Communion is a personal partaking, by faith, of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, an inward strengthening and refreshing of the individual soul; yet is it also an external pledge of universal Christian brotherhood, a visible sign and seal of the spiritual fellowship of all the members of Christ's Sacramental Society. "We being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread."[1] The blessings of the Sacraments, therefore, are both individual and social blessings; they separate us unto God, and they unite us with each other. But they do more than this. They are the sacraments of our redemption, and our redemption largely depends on our efforts to rescue others. We lose ourselves if we seek only to save ourselves. We save ourselves if we lose all thought of ourselves in seeking to save others. Thus the Sacraments

[1] 1 Cor. x. 17.

of our redemption are Sacraments which pledge us to work for others—for their rescue, their reformation, their growth in righteousness towards God. Sacramental separation thus implies sacramental service. It is separation as the seed of service, and service as the fruit of separation.

The history of the Christian Church bears melancholy witness to the serious injury often caused by the forgetting or ignoring of this necessity of social service as the complement of inward hallowing to the perfection of the holy life. Holiness has been too much regarded as a separate, an exclusive life, a withdrawing from the world rather than a leavening of the world, a fencing off of the sacred from the secular instead of a permeation of the secular by the sacred. It is this error which has so often debased holiness into a matter of meat and drink, of garb and rule, of phrases and catchwords. This error lies at the root of all forms of Manicheeism, whether primitive, mediæval, or modern. Setting out from opposite extremities, Monasticism and Calvinism meet in the embrace of this error ; for both seek to constitute a separate order of the elect within the social Church of the baptized. Upon the sands of this error is built the false glorification of virginity and the celibate life, as a state spiritually better than that of the married life. It is this error which has made an idol of the Bible, thus sadly bereaving it of its grand quickening power, and has perverted Sunday into a mechanical observance, instead of enthroning it as one of God's greatest spiritual gifts to mankind. It is this error which has led to the common dread of the Holy Communion, and the disastrous professionalism of some of the clergy. Through the adoption of this error the clergy have tended to become a caste, and the laity have forgotten their own ministry. In sum, whatever separates religion from common life is not true holiness. The nature of holiness is as essentially social in its relation to everyday life as it is essentially

separate in its inward sanctity. Unless we cultivate the social qualities of our holiness, our religion dwindles into a mere selfish, personal profession, and ceases to be a redeeming power in the world.

All such exclusive separation of the Church from the world, of the religious from the daily life of men, manifestly runs clean contrary to the gospel of the Incarnation. The Incarnation is no phantom creed; of all realities it is among the most searchingly real. Yet what does the Incarnation mean? What message does It deliver to mankind? Surely one part of its meaning and its message is the social character of holiness, the inter-penetration of the human by the Divine, the sanctification of things visible and common by the eternal and invisible God. At the Incarnation the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us; at the Incarnation the eternal God did not abhor the womb of woman, but became partaker of His own created human nature. When He came to the world, He came, as a man comes to his own possessions, to His own home.[1] He came to show that the world was His, that man and man's destiny were His, and not the devil's. At the Incarnation the All-Holy descended into the material sphere, the Heavenly entered into the earthly. The Incarnation was the consecration of the human body, and the hallowing of all bodily necessities and bodily appetites. By the Incarnation all things secular are clearly intended to be made sacred, and all things human are intended to partake of a divine spirit. The only thing from which Christ sundered Himself was sin. Inwardly separate unto God, He was both inwardly and outwardly separate from sin; though for us He was made sin, in Him was no sin.[2] The only respect in which He kept aloof from the world, was sternly anti-social towards it, was its sinfulness. In all other respects His most holy life was a social life. He

[1] John i. 11: εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε. [2] 2 Cor. v. 21.

was a Man amongst men, a Workman amongst workmen, a Guest among guests. He frequented both public feasts and private entertainments; He showed fellowship both with the joys and the sorrows of men. Some of his parables evince a striking familiarity with social affairs. He was a great lover of children and young men. His disciples were His friends. He went about doing good. He did not disdain to sit talking with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well. To her He vouchsafed one of His world-shaking revelations.[1] The home at Bethany—well ordered by the industry of Martha, sweetened by the pensiveness of Mary, warmed by the dear companionship of Lazarus—was one of His favourite resorts. Even when He instituted and ordained His two holy Sacraments He made them, as we have seen, social Sacraments. After His resurrection the Incarnate Lord was still social. Though He no longer allowed His friends to touch Him familiarly, yet He ate and drank and conversed with them.[2] It was while in the act of social intercourse with His disciples that He was taken up into heaven.[3] The founding of His Church on the Day of Pentecost was the grandest of all the social enterprises and social reforms ever witnessed by the world. The Church was called out from the world that it might go forth into the world to save and bless the world. Nothing was ever said or done by our Incarnate Lord which favours the notion of the special sanctity of isolation, or asceticism, or exclusiveness. The Incarnation was the glad herald to humanity of the social life, the social power, the social salvation of holiness.

Still, while we are bound to remember the social character of true holiness, as unfolded throughout the Bible and made especially manifest by the Incarnation, we are bound to remember also the equally important fact that holiness is

[1] John iv. 21–24. [2] John xx. 17, xxi. 12.
[3] Acts i. 7–10.

essentially separate. We cannot be truly holy unless we are separate, any more than we can be completely holy without being social. In the Scriptures oil is a common figure of holiness.[1] But oil will not mix with any matter not akin to itself. Oil poured upon troubled waters will calm, but will not mix with, them. So with the oil of holiness in the world. Its presence calms, and heals, and beautifies worldly things; but it does not mix with them; it *cannot* mix with them. The spirit of holiness is contrary to the world-spirit. The world-spirit is a time-spirit. It walks by sight, and lives by sense. It dwells among things seen. It seeks material rewards. But the spirit of holiness is an altogether different spirit. Its vision pierces the walls of sense, and overleaps the limits of time. It is an eternal spirit. It sees Him who is invisible. Its hopes are anchored within the veil. Purity is its great passion. It dwells among things unseen. Its crown is incorruptible and never fadeth away. Between the world-spirit and the spirit of holiness, therefore, there can be no fellowship, no communion, no concord, no agreement. They are anti-pathetic, antagonistic spirits—spirits in truceless enmity with each other. Peace between them is impossible. All true disciples of the holy Saviour are not only separate from sin; they are separate also from worldliness. Inward and absolute separateness from the world is as integral to the nature of holiness as outward social work in the world. The sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty must, of necessity, be separate; else they cannot be holy.[2]

Outwardly, as we have seen, the surface of holy and worldly lives may appear, in many respects, similar to each other. Holy persons move, and speak, and act in the world much as do other persons in all innocent pleasures, and honest employments, and pure pursuits, and guileless mirth; but inwardly their lives are entirely different—different in

[1] Ps. civ. 15, cix. 18. [2] 2 Cor. vi. 14–18.

character, and motive, and aim, and result. The holy life is a life hid with Christ in God.[1] It is a life gradually detaching itself more and more from things seen and temporal, and finding its fulness more and more abundantly in things unseen and eternal.

Our age seems largely to have overlooked this essential dualism of the nature of holiness. On the one hand it has applauded superstitious severity and external isolation to the undervaluing of social sanctity. On the other hand, with its Christian Socialism, its Labour Churches, its Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, its enthusiasm for Ceremonial, its energy for clubs and games and the whole secular side of life, it is deluding itself with the fond imagination that the world may be won to Christ by outward and worldly methods. But whatever value we may assign to these things as adjuncts to the Gospel, as its substitutes they are altogether a delusion. The world can only be won for Christ by Christ's own methods. He was in the world; true. But he was of the world—never. In all things pure, and just, and good the Christian must conform to worldly tastes and habits and pursuits; only by so conforming can he be loyal to the Incarnation; but if inwardly the Christian conform to the world-spirit (the spirit of sight and time and sense), then will the world conquer him, not he the world. If, like our Lord, we go into the world to win it, then too, like Him, we must often be alone with God in quiet places for quiet times of quiet communion. The more social our religion is outwardly, the greater is the need for systematic and determined devotion to the heavenly task of the inward hallowing. "The mastery of the world," writes Professor Hort, "depends on inner separation from it: a separation transcending the outer commingling."[2] Without this inner separation all work for Christ is vain, and all growth in holiness impos-

[1] Col. iii. 3. [2] *The Way, the Truth, the Life*, p. 61.

sible. The inner separation is the spiritual wellspring of the social energy of holiness; and if the springs be not constantly replenished, the streams will inevitably run dry.

JOHN W. DIGGLE.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

XXII. THE CORINTHIAN VIEW REGARDING MARRIAGE.

IN the preceding section we take the view that the Corinthians had proposed to Paul the question whether the right principle of life was that all persons ought to marry. We must now ask what was their intention in putting this question.

The answer has already been distinctly indicated in the reasoning which led up to the determination of the question which they proposed to the Apostle. The letter of the Corinthians was (as we have seen already at various points) a decidedly ambitious performance. They discussed, with much philosophic acumen and with strong reforming zeal, the nature of society, the character of man, the relation of man to God, and other similar topics, and they were well satisfied with the letter which embodied their opinions. It was (as they felt) able, religious, and on a lofty plane of morality. They were eager to regenerate and reform society, and they were satisfied that they knew how to do so. The questions which they put to Paul on this subject were calculated to show clearly what answer must, in their opinion, be given to them.

In no part of the Roman Empire was there current at that time any idea of the advisability and the superior purity of monasticism and the permanent separation of the sexes. The Corinthians were entirely under the influence of prevailing views, and were as firmly persuaded

as all the leading official moralists were, that the admitted and palpable degeneracy of society was connected with the unwillingness to marry, which was spreading widely among the most fashionable and corrupt section of society in the empire. The most vicious part of society was the one where celibacy was commonest. The classes which were purest in life—the Jews and, at a long interval behind them, the old-fashioned Pagans—were those among which marriage was almost universal. They drew the obvious conclusion: make marriage universal, and vice will disappear.

That such was the drift of the Corinthians' argument is clear from Paul's reply. He fully admits (vii. 2–5) the truth that lies in their reasoning, and is involved in human nature. Among other things they had evidently referred to the preference for childlessness, which was characteristic of fashionable society under the Empire, and Paul quite agreed with their views on this point. Marriage should be a real union. A married couple ought to live together regularly. They may, by mutual consent, live separate occasionally for a time, with a view to religious and devotional purposes: such temporary separation was a recognised custom in society, and Paul saw no reason to interfere with it, but rather inclines to commend it. Still he safeguards himself by adding (vii. 6) that he only allows, but does not enjoin, such periodic temporary separation.[1]

But this view of marriage as a safeguard from evil is not a high one: it is not Paul's. "I would," says he (vii. 7),

[1] Canon Evans rightly sees that vii. 6 refers only to the custom alluded to in vii. 5. It is an unfortunate result of the prevalent misapprehension of the question discussed by Paul, that many interpreters take vii. 6 to mean, "I permit, but am far from enjoining, marriage." Canon Evans, though sharing that misapprehension, felt the inevitable sequence of thought between the two verses 5 and 6, as every one must to whom Greek has become a living tongue. Could we hear Paul read aloud his letter, the tone of voice would permit no doubt on the connexion and the sense.

"that all men were even as I myself"; and that they needed no such safeguard, but could live on a higher plane and look on marriage from a nobler point of view. But such is not the case, and men must guide their life according to their own nature. They have "each his own gift from God," each his own special weakness and special strength. Paul never legislates as if all were like each other or like himself. All must judge according to their own nature and conscience—in the spirit of God.

In vii. 10 ff. the subject is taken up afresh from a different side; but, as we shall see in a following section, the tone of advice is the same. Every man is quite justified in remaining in his present condition, unmarried or married: in other words, the suggestion, which was evidently made by the Corinthians, that the unmarried should be urged to marry, was strongly repudiated by Paul.

It was the insistence of the Corinthians on that lower view of marriage that led Paul to devote some attention to it. They were not able to rise above current philosophy and popular morality. Their zeal to reform society opened up to them no lofty or mystic views, but kept them on a strictly utilitarian level. Marriage was a useful thing for the purpose on which they were bent, and was deserving of every encouragement. Ardent reformers usually have a *nostrum*, and the Corinthians had their complete cure for the ills of society. They were ready and eager to take the laws of nature under their own special care, and see that they were carried out. Many people have shown the same zeal to protect nature and her laws, since the Corinthians wrote.

But, indubitably, the prominence which—in his desire to acknowledge fully the proportion of truth in their letter—Paul gives to the lower view of marriage, led to much misapprehension. Misapprehension was exaggerated, not long after his time, by another cause. The revolt from the

impurity of common society led to an exaggeration of the spiritual value of mere physical purity of life, however attained. The distorted views of life which spread widely in Christian circles inevitably produced complete misconception of Paul's views. His language to the Corinthians lent itself readily to misinterpretation, and the age was not one which would wait to compare passage with passage, and weigh each, in order to form a reasoned theory of Paul's views as a whole. Many sentences in this chapter, taken by themselves, could easily be read as inculcating that marriage is an evil, permissible only because it saves the world from still greater evils; and they have been so read.

But to suppose that the Corinthians could have been thinking of the problems of monasticism, and could have questioned Paul as to whether the virtues of celibacy were not such as to render it a specially laudable and meritorious course, is quite anachronistic. People on their plane of thought and knowledge could not have entertained such thoughts.

XXIII. Was Paul Married?

We have seen that, on the commonly accepted view as to the question which is here discussed by Paul, it is not possible to find any distinct evidence as to Paul's own condition. Good and trustworthy authorities read different meanings in the passage. But, as we have now determined the form of the Corinthians' question, the case is changed. It appears hardly probable that, if Paul had never had a wife, the Corinthians would have put to him the question, "Is it to be regarded as a duty incumbent on all Christians to marry?" Had he been unmarried always, the question answered itself.

But it must be acknowledged that this argument is subjective, and depends much for its value on individual feel-

ing. There is little real argument on the point to be deduced from Paul's own words here or elsewhere. He often urges his own example on his converts, but never in reference to such a matter as this. He urges on them to live a life as entirely devoted to the Divine purpose as himself: he was absolutely certain that the Divine will had wholly occupied his mind and powers, and he wishes that others were like him in that respect. But he never could hold, he never held, his own action to be a pattern to others in such matters as marriage. He never would have said, "Marry as I have married," or "remain unmarried, like me."

To my individual judgment it appears that Paul's mind shows a peculiar power of universal sympathy, which is more characteristic of a man that had been married. But, on the other hand, who can venture to set any limit to his marvellous power of comprehending the mind and feelings of his converts?

The question of Paul's marriage or celibacy has considerable importance for the interpretation of the chapter which we are now studying. Evidence on the question has usually been sought from vii. 7 and 8. This, however, seems to misconceive the force of those verses. When Paul wishes (vii. 7) "that all men were even as I myself," he is not thinking of his condition as regards marriage, but of his nature and character. His words carried more meaning, doubtless, to those who knew him personally than they do to us; those who had been acquainted with him knew how impossible to him an impure life was, how inevitable purity was to him. But even to us the words are full of meaning, as is set forth in section XXV. on "Marriage and the Divine Life."[1]

When one looks at the case dispassionately, it seems altogether inconsistent with the context that Paul, who is

[1] See also p. 382 at top.

here emphasizing the injudiciousness of laying down any universal law, and the necessity of conceding much to the individual varieties of situation, should express the wish either that all men were married and widowers, or that all men were unmarried.[1] It is reasonable and natural that he should wish that all men were of such character that a perfectly pure life was as easy to them as to himself; but it is altogether absurd that he should say, "I would that all men were widowers," or "that all were celibate." The first of these two alternatives is so supremely absurd that we may almost sympathize with those many interpreters who have recoiled from it and have championed the less absurd alternative "that all should be celibate." The latter has been the more dangerous interpretation, because it is less palpably absurd. But no one who has any real sympathy with Paul's spirit can imagine him expressing, even in the most abstract fashion, the wish that there could or should be one universal rule—no marriage, no union between man and woman in the world.

The expression in vii. 8 is not to be taken as a new subject and a new paragraph; it is only a summing up of vii. 1–7, as we shall see in the following section. The rendering of the Authorized Version brings that out clearly.[2] The Revised Version takes a view, and emphasizes it by an arrangement of the paragraphs, which we must think false. It is peculiarly unfortunate that in a Revised Version there should be so many cases in which we must recur to the older version, even while we acknowledge that in the overwhelming majority of cases the changes made in the Revised Version are either needed, or, at least, not wrong. But it must be granted that paragraph arrangement is often in-

[1] According to the two theories, which alone are possible as to Paul's condition: either he was a widower, or he had never married.

[2] As Canon Evans simply gives the Authorized Version without criticising it, we may claim him as holding the opinion stated in our text.

adequate to express the closely welded thought of Paul's Epistles.

XXIV. Remarriage.

The question of "the unmarried and widows" comes up in vii. 8. Who are "the unmarried"? (*ἀγάμοις*), and why are they thus mixed up with the question of remarriage?

There is no question that in classical Greek *ἄγαμος* meant "one who has never been married," and *ἀγαμία* "celibacy." It would not be easy to find any justification for taking *ἄγαμος* in the sense of one who, after being married, has lost his wife. Yet that sense has been championed in this passage by many commentators, who have been misled by the desire to make *ἀγάμοις* the masculine corresponding to *χήραις* the feminine. Some of these champions of a false Greek even allege that there was no Greek word for "widower," and therefore that Paul had to press the word *ἄγαμος* wrongly into his service for the occasion. But Paul knew Greek better than those commentators, who had not troubled to consult the lexicons before they asserted a negative.

Paul used *χήραις* preferably to *χήροις*—though generally a masculine term is used when both sexes are to be included—because the feminine is much the more characteristic idea in this case, just as English "widow" is the simple and "widower" the derivative (contrary to the usual practice in such pairs of terms). He here sums up "those who have never known marriage (*ἀγάμοις*) and those who have been married and widowed." In vii. 8 the Apostle sums up and repeats the advice of vii. 1–7: to remain without a consort is a respectable, honourable course of life, if they remain pure in that situation "like me": [1] otherwise marriage is their only way of living rightly.

[1] Here, as before, all attempts to deduce from the personal reference evidence whether Paul was a widower or celibate rest on misunderstanding.

Moreover, in vii. 39, 40, it is clear that Paul thought the question of marriage was not altogether the same for a widow and a widower. A widow occupied, in his view, a distinct and peculiar position as regards remarriage, and he is much more decisive in his advice to widows than to any other class of persons. As we have already seen,[1] his opinion was that, though a widow was perfectly free and right in marrying again, yet she was "happier" to remain in her widowhood (vii. 40). That is the only case throughout this much misunderstood chapter in which he expresses a distinct opinion against marriage.

But, as to widowers, Paul evidently thought that the question to them was not essentially different from the question in the case of unmarried men. The widow occupied a special and peculiar position; not so the widower. There was therefore no special advice needed for him.

Thus, from every point of view, we see that Paul in vii. 8 sums up his advice as affecting (1) all as yet unmarried persons; (2) widows. There was no third class requiring special treatment. If in any small degree widowers differed from the first class, they may be taken under the second class.

The opinions stated in this chapter, so far as we have yet seen them, must be pronounced eminently sensible and practical and suitable. But, at the same time, there is an evident want of the loftier tone that is characteristic of Paul's mind. We have seen that the prominence of the plain but rather commonplace tone is due to the necessity under which Paul was placed of considering the Corinthians' questions from their own point of view. But we must proceed to ask how far his conception of the Christian life as the Divine life was permitted to appear, even in addressing the Corinthian "wise" men, a not wholly sympathetic audience.

W. M. Ramsay.

[1] See § XXI. p. 286.

THE FIRST ACT OF THE APOSTLES—THE ELECTION OF MATTHIAS.

The election of St. Matthias, recorded in Acts i. 16–25, has at least three points of definite and unique interest. (1) It is the first act of the apostles after their separation from the visible presence of their Master. (2) It is the one act recorded as having taken place during the interval between the Ascension and the Day of Pentecost. These two points of themselves give a certain prominence to the act, and in a way force upon us the question of its significance. (3) Again, it is unique in the history of the Church as the one instance of election into the apostolate. The act was never to be repeated; it was unprecedented, and created no precedent.

The place of Judas was supplied by the election of Matthias; but when St. James was slain by the sword of Herod, he had no successor among the Twelve. St. Paul alone of men after the Day of Pentecost took the rank and position of an apostle of the Lord in the confined and higher sense in which we are now using the word. But St. Paul was chosen to be an apostle by the immediate act of Jesus Christ and of God the Father, not desiring his authority, as he is careful to state, either from a human source or through the channel of a human ministry: *οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου* (Gal. i. 1).

But though isolated and distinct in one aspect, this act has nevertheless a close and important relation to the history of the Christian ministry.

This we will consider further on.

1. To return to our points. Considered as the first independent act of the Christian brotherhood: it is important to note that it bears the impress of the presence and controlling influence of Christ Himself. The key to

the interpretation of this incident is to regard it as the act of Jesus wrought by the ministration of the apostles. With St. Luke, indeed, each and all of the acts of the apostles are the acts of Jesus,[1] and in this initiative of Christian action there are clear traces of the Master's will and guidance. We see this (1) in the position naturally as it seems accorded to St. Peter and taken by him; (2) in the exceptional character of the event, both as to the time of its occurrence—an unlikely one to have been chosen by the unassisted judgment of the apostles; and (3) in the order of procedure, exceptional in its character, and yet unhesitatingly followed; (4) in the preservation of the incident by St. Luke, which proves its acceptance as an inspired act by the post-Pentecostal Church; and (5) above all in the direct appeal to Jesus Christ in St. Peter's prayer.

2. The next point is the occurrence of the act in those ten days of waiting for the promise of the Father. Although *a priori* human conjecture might have assigned an act of this importance to the direct and personal ministration of the risen Lord, or else to the Church after the fuller inspiration of Pentecost, it is possible to see a fitness and educative helpfulness in the particular moment and method of his choice.

(1) It was an act of hopefulness. Nothing could have better served to inspire confidence in those days of anxious expectation than an act like this, which gave assurance of the presence of Christ, and which indicated preparation for the opening of a new experience in the realized kingdom of God.

[1] In i. 1 the first book, or the Gospel narrative, is explained as containing a record of all that Jesus *began* to do and teach; in ii. 38 baptism is in the name of Jesus Christ; in ii. 47 the Lord (Jesus) added to the Church those who were being saved; in xvi. 9 it is the Spirit of Jesus which directs the apostolic journey; in xviii. 9 and xxiii. 11 St. Paul is encouraged by a vision of "the Lord," who was indeed the immediate instrument of his conversion, ix. 5; comp. 1 Cor. i. 1, Gal. i 1.

(2) It was an act of high responsibility, which would nerve the apostles for the exercise of authority.

(3) It seemed divinely fitting that when the Church began her history the number of the apostolate should be complete; that the Church should actually be built on the foundation of the twelve apostles; that not one should be lacking from among the number of the judges of the twelve tribes of Israel.

When the day of election arrived, the disciples were gathered together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, *v.* 15, must be regarded as a Hebraism). It is extremely unlikely that the place of meeting was in the temple, as some have conjectured from a too literal interpretation of Luke xxiv. 53. The upper room (*v.* 13), as Lightfoot remarks (*Hor. Hebr.*, vol. viii. p. 363), came to be used technically of a Rabbi's lecture-room, or *beth midrash*, in which religious discussion took place, so that his disciples were called "sons of the upper room." The upper chamber at Troas (Acts xx. 8) was a room of this kind, and in such upper room we may perhaps see the origin of Christian Churches. The number of those present is stated to have been "about (ὡς) one hundred and twenty." It is not probable that this number included all the adherents of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem at the time. The precision of the stated number, one hundred and twenty, combined with the indefiniteness produced by ὡς is remarkable. Possibly a sense of congruity and fitness in the number as ten times that of the apostolic twelve struck the narrator, who noted it, but as a point of accuracy added the qualifying particle.

St. Peter approaches the election without hesitation—the result, probably, as we have indicated before, of the Lord's direction. He puts the election before the brethren as a Divine necessity for the fulfilment of Holy Scripture (ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν κ.τ.λ., *v.* 16; δεῖ οὖν, *v.* 21; with this compare Luke ii. 49, xxiv. 26).

In defining the aim and work of an apostle as *μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι*, St. Peter recalls the Lord's words (chap. i. 8), *ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες*. Henceforth the characteristic note of apostolic preaching was to be their testimony to the truth of the resurrection, as it was the crucial test and saving hope of the Christian disciple (1 Cor. xv. 13–17). "Qui resurrectionem Christi credit omnia credit quæ progressa et secuta sunt" (Bengel).

(1) The first step in the procedure of election was to limit the choice to the number of those who had been closely associated with the apostles in the companionship of Jesus from the beginning of His ministry. These "original" disciples naturally enjoyed a pre-eminence in the Church. They were the eyewitnesses from the beginning (*οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται*, Luke i. 2). It is the condition which Jesus Himself names as required of His witnesses: "Ye also bear witness *because* ye have been with me from the beginning" (*καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρεῖτε ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστε*, John xv. 27), words which authorize, and indeed necessitate, the limitation of choice here prescribed. It is an interesting question whether the term *ἀρχαῖος μαθητής* applied to Mnason of Cyprus (Acts xxi. 16) was used generally of those who accompanied the Lord from the first, or whether it points only to a discipleship dating from the Day of Pentecost.

(2) The next stage in the procedure, the "appointment" of two of the *ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί*, probably belongs to the whole assembly of one hundred and twenty. They appointed (*ἔστησαν*) two. The same word, *ἔστησαν*, is used of the appointment of the seven (deacons) (Acts vi. 6), and is classical in this sense. Comp. Soph., *Œd. Tyr.*, 940, *τύραννον αὐτὸν οὐπιχώριοι χθονὸς | τῆς Ἰσθμιάς στήσουυσιν, ὡς ηὐδᾶτ' ἐκεῖ*. The method of choice is not described, but it is interesting to note in this act the germ of the "cleri et plebis suffragium," or even the "plebis suffragium"

alone, which Cyprian names as one of the conditions in episcopal election (see Ep. lxvii. 3 and 5).

Neither of the two appointed for election is named in the subsequent history of the Church. Nor are the qualities mentioned which commended them to their brethren. But it is possible that the surname of Justus—the Latin equivalent of ὁ δίκαιος—may have been assigned to Joseph Barsabbas for the same reason for which the title was given to James, the Lord's brother.

3. In the words which follow (*v.* 24), a grammatical point may be noticed, namely, that the aorist participle προσευξάμενοι indicates an action identical with, and not antecedent to, the action expressed by εἶπαν, "they prayed saying." See Blass, *Gram. of New Testament Greek*, Eng. Trans., p. 197.

The prayer itself we regard as an appeal to the Lord Jesus Christ to appoint His apostle, as he had appointed the Twelve during His ministry on earth. We infer this: (1) from the loss which would result from any other interpretation to the significance of the act; (2) from the juxtaposition of ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (*v.* 22); (3) from the frequency of this form of address to Jesus, both before the Resurrection (Matt. xiv. 30, xvii. 4; Luke x. 17; John xiv. 5), and after the Resurrection (John xxi. 15; Acts i. 6, vii. 60, ix. 5, 13, xi. 8; to which may be added Matt. vii. 21); (4) from the fact that, except in the song of Simeon (Luke ii. 29) and in the prayer of the apostles (Acts iv. 24 foll.), no instance occurs in the New Testament where God the Father is addressed in prayer as Κύριε.

The rare word καρδιογνῶστα indicates the true criterion of choice, inner motive and character known to God only. It is also beautifully expressive in the present connexion, as in chapter xv. 8. Occurring in these two passages only, and in both in the mouth of St. Peter, this word may be considered as pre-eminently characteristic of the apostle,

who had in a special sense experienced the heart-searching glance of Christ.

The following clause is rendered in the R.V., "Shew of these two the one whom thou hast chosen." But *ἀνάδειξον* may also mean "appoint," "declare elected." It is quite classical in this sense, as: *βασιλέα προσφάτως αὐτὸν ἀναδεδειχώς*, Polyb. iv. 48, 3; and in Luke x. 1, where the word occurs in reference to a like occasion, the Revisers rightly render "appointed seventy others" (*ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα*). It seems, therefore, preferable to give a signification to the word here which exactly expresses the direct action of Christ.[1] Ἐξελέξω is the aorist of an eternal fact, and so independent of time notion; compare *ἐδόθη*, Matthew xxviii. 18; *ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα*, Matthew iii. 17; *ὑπερύψωσεν . . .*; *ἐχαρίσατο*, Philippians ii. 8.

(4) We now come to the most interesting and distinctive part of this act of election. However strange and unfitting a recourse to the lot in a solemn moment like this may appear to the western mind, to the Jew it was a natural and reverential expedient. It was an appeal to God for decision. The element of chance so closely identified with the lot to the Greek mind (compare *διὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην*, Plat. *Rep.* 619D) would not present itself at all to Hebrew thought. The decision to be obtained by this process was the very reverse of a decision by chance. The result expressed a Divine purpose and verdict. It was by this method that every day in the temple the most sacred functions of divine service were apportioned to the ministering priests. Thus it was that Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, on the most critical day of his life, obtained by lot the privilege of burning incense in the Holy Place: *ἔλαχεν τοῦ θυμιάσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου* (Luke i. 9). The "white stone" (Rev. ii. 17) is referred by Schöttgen (*Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. ad loc.*) to the same

[1] Mr. Rendall in his recent scholarly edition of the Acts takes the same view.

custom. *Κλήρους διδόναι* does not appear to be a classical phrase for "casting lots," nor is it the phrase used elsewhere in the New Testament (cp. Matt. xxvii. 35), and some have interpreted it in the sense of giving votes. But it is a literal rendering of the Hebrew expression, *nathan goral* (Lev. xvi. 8), for casting lots on the two goats, and there can be little doubt that this should be the rendering in this passage.

The fact that decision by lot was so familiar to the Jew, and so bound up with the customs and ritual of his race and religion, lends another aspect to this incident. It presents the election of Matthias as the last scene in Jewish religious history before the kingdom of Christ came with power. It is a link between the Jewish and the Christian Churches, a thought of the temple ministry carried to the threshold of the new dispensation.

4. The last step in the procedure of election is the formal admission of Matthias into the number of the Twelve, *συγκατεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν ἕνδεκα ἀποστόλων*. This was probably the act of the eleven apostles, and one which, like the other acts in this procedure, finds its counterpart, as we shall see, in the election to the episcopate of the Christian Church.

The admission or reception of Matthias into the College of the Apostles, as distinct from his election, has its parallel in the ordinary forms of election to lay or ecclesiastical office in the present day; as, for instance, the admission of a Scholar or Fellow to membership of his college after election.

The word by which the process is expressed deserves a note. The verb *συγκαταψηφίζω* is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and neither *καταψηφίζω* nor *ψηφίζω* occurs in the LXX.; in the New Testament *ψηφίζω* is twice used, meaning to count or reckon (Luke xiv. 28; Rev. xiii. 18). In classical Greek *καταψηφίζεσθαι* means to "condemn by vote." Here the

force of κατά must be that of thoroughness, and σύν implies the unanimity of the vote. It was a συμψῆφος, a combined vote of all the eleven.

It has been already remarked that although this was a unique act it is not without its relation to the history and organization of the Church. Cyprian names three conditions as essential for the valid election of a bishop—the suffrage of the laity ("suffragium plebis" or "universæ fraternitatis suffragium," Ep. lxvii. 5), the judgment of God, and the election by the bishops of the province. In earlier times the bishop was "elected by his flock and accepted by the neighbouring bishops" (Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 27, N.S.).

Each of these essential points may be traced in the election of Matthias. The suffrage of the laity, or the whole brotherhood, which bore testimony to character and fitness of the candidates ("plebe præsente quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit," Cyprian, Ep. lxvii. 5) and elected or gave their consent to the election of the bishop, is implied by ἔστησαν δύο, *v.* 23. The judgment of God was appealed to, and felt to be given in the decision by lot following upon the prayer of the Church. The consent or election by fellow-bishops is traced in the vote of reception, which closes the procedure.

And in every subsequent call and election to the ministry in every branch of the Church of Christ it is not difficult to discern in some form or procedure the requirements and method foreshewn in the election of Matthias: (1) Companionship of Jesus; (2) Testimony of those who have known the life and character of the candidate; (3) Choice by the brotherhood; (4) The appeal to God in prayer; (5) The Divine judgment; (6) The formal admission to the ministry.

But it is interesting to look back as well as forward. And if this procedure which we have been endeavouring to trace is to be attributed (as we believe it is) to the direction of

Jesus Christ Himself, we might expect to find features of resemblance or identity in the choice of the original Twelve.

In giving the list of the twelve apostles St. Matthew names no preceding steps. St. Luke's account is, "And it came to pass in those days that He went out into the mountain to pray; and He continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, He called His disciples, and He chose (ἐκλεξάμενος) from them twelve, whom also He named apostles" (vi. 13, 14). In St. Mark's account we read, "And He goeth up into the mountain, and calleth unto Him whom He Himself would; and they went unto Him. And He appointed (ἐποίησεν) twelve, that they might be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to cast out devils" (iii. 13, 14). And in St. Luke's account of the mission of the Seventy the words are, "Now after these things the Lord appointed (ἀνέδειξεν) seventy others, and sent them two and two before His face into every city and place, whither He Himself was about to come" (x. 1). Here Bengel remarks on "after these things," referring to the preceding context: "post probationem eorum qui idonei essent ad legationem vel secus." Comparing those passages, we note: the prayer of Jesus, answering to the invocation for the Divine decision in the choice of Matthias; the summoning of His disciples, agreeing with the election in the presence of the hundred and twenty and out of the number of those who had been with Jesus; then the choice by Jesus (note the use of the words ἀνέδειξεν and ἐκλεξάμενος as in Acts v. 24), which includes the decision of God as well as the election by the eleven apostles, or, in later times, by fellow-bishops. In the Ignatian Epistles the bishop is regarded as the representative of Christ: "we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself" (*Ephese*, § 6). The point added by St. Mark, "He calleth unto Him whom He would, and

they came unto Him," represents the response in Christ's servant to the voice of God summoning him to the ministry.

One point more deserves attention, namely, the group of suggestive words, full of meaning for the future, which are met with in this short narrative: *μάρτυρα γενέσθαι*,—the thought of testimony and martyrdom linked inseparably in the annals of the Church,—*διακονία*, *ἐπισκοπή*, *ἀποστολή*, and *κλῆρος*[1]—words which not only recall the whole organization of the Christian ministry, but which go deeply into the theory of the Christian life.

Of Matthias himself nothing further is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. This however is not surprising, for, with the exception of one or two incidents recorded of St. John, and the fact of St. James' martyrdom, the only acts of the Twelve commemorated are those of St. Peter. Clement of Alexandria quotes from the traditions of Matthias (*Strom.* ii. 163), and Eusebius (*H.E.* 25) mentions apocryphal gospels ascribed to Peter, Thomas and Matthias, which implies that his name carried apostolical authority. It is remarkable, however, that in the earliest named groups of the apostles the twelfth place is taken by St. Paul. Mrs. Jameson says (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 254), "that St. Matthias is seldom included in sets of the

[1] The meaning of *κλῆρος* in the sense of "the clergy" is variously explained. According to Skeat (*Concise Etym. Dict.*) the clergy are so designated because "their portion is the Lord," reference being made to Deut. xviii. 2, 1 Pet. v. 8. The latter passage, however, cannot be in point, for the *κλῆροι* here referred to are the churches or congregations over which the presbyters are placed. Nor could the Jewish priests or Christian clergy be so called because the Lord was their *κλῆρος*. Rather it must be because the clergy are the *κλῆρος* or choice of the Lord, an explanation which would fall in with the meaning of this passage. Suicer, *sub voc.*, quotes from Isidorus to the effect that the clergy were so called because Matthias, the first person ordained to the Christian ministry, was chosen by lot (*κλήρῳ*). Dean Plumptre, on 1 Peter v. 3, says that the term *κλῆρος* was transferred from the congregation to the "presbyters," as being in a special sense the "portion" or "heritage" of God. Webster *Eng. Dict.*) derives the name from the lands originally allotted to the clergy.

Apostles." The traditions concerning the scenes of St. Matthias' missionary labours and his martyrdom are diverse and untrustworthy.

ARTHUR CARR.

"THE NATURE OF CHRIST."

I HAVE lately received the second edition of a valuable little book with the above title, by the Rev. William Marshall, the author of a larger work published some time ago, and entitled the *Visible Son*.[1] The appearance of the *Nature of Christ* is, I think, opportune, as the attention of most thoughtful Christians is at present very properly much directed to the important question—perhaps most important of all—"What think ye of Christ?"

It has become very evident to most thinkers that it is useless to invite the deeply-laden sinners of these last years of the "times of the Gentiles" to a merely human Saviour. We need nothing less than Divine power to raise us from the depth of lost opportunity and actual evil into which we have fallen as the heirs of all the sins of the great apostasy and of unbelief into which we have fallen since our Lord returned to heaven.

It seems equally plain that a Divine Saviour must be an eternal Being, whose existence is not to be dated from the nativity at Bethlehem, some 1,900 years ago, but who was "at the beginning," and is, the same Lord who appeared to Adam, to Abraham, and to other Old Testament saints, whether as Jehovah, or as the "Angel of the Covenant," whose acting in relation to man thus extends all the way from the creation of Adam, and who is the Alpha and the Omega of the whole scheme of redemption. It thus appears that our complete Christology must include

[1] Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1896.

all the so-called "theophanies" of the Old Testament, the thirty years of humiliation and suffering recorded in the Gospels, the residence in heaven since the Ascension, and the return and everlasting kingdom of the future. This can, I believe, be fairly deduced from the whole tenor of the New Testament, including such sayings of our Lord as, "I and the Father are one," "No man hath seen God at any time," "The only begotten Son, He hath declared Him," "Before Abraham was, I am"; the testimony of Paul in Colossians i. 15, 16, etc., and that of John and Peter in the second Epistle. It no doubt fell much into neglect in the ages of decadence following the apostolic age, but was revived by the more profound thinkers of the Reformation period, and is implied in the statements of the Westminster standard. In this belief I was trained in my youth, and have seen no reason to depart from it, though, as a student of nature, my mind was specially turned rather to the learning of the works and Word of God than to the greater mystery of "God manifest in the flesh." At my present age, and in infirm health, it would be useless for me to enter into its further discussion; but I may refer for details to the pages of Mr. Marshall, who has compressed into small space the testimony of Scripture both in the Old and New Testaments, and has also noticed the various phases of belief on the subject from the apostolic times downward, including the doctrines held by the more robust theologians of the Reformation period, like Jonathan Edwards and Dr. Lee, as well as those who followed in the lead of the post-apostolic fathers. What, then, are we to expect in the future? When Jesus ascended from Olivet, attendant angels predicted that in like manner He would return; and the long interval, with added prophecies, warrants us in affirming that the time of His reappearance must be near at hand, in comparison with the long time of His absence. It therefore becomes His disciples to watch, and

to study the signs of the times, and to look in hope for this final appearance of our Lord from heaven—an appearance very different from that recorded in the Gospels, in the respect that He will return not as a helpless infant, but in the plenitude of His power and glory, so that neither friends nor enemies will any longer be able to doubt, and we may expect that none, even of the most stony-hearted of our modern scribes and Pharisees, though petrified in heart by centuries of anti-Christianism, will dare, like Caiaphas of old, to denounce Him as an impostor and blasphemer. Even so, come Lord Jesus, that we may ever be with Thee in full joy of Thy blessed immortality.

J. Wm. Dawson.

*** The above article is the last written for the press by our esteemed contributor.—Ed. Expositor.

THE LETTER OF THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH TO ST. PAUL.

The two Epistles to the Corinthians are part of a correspondence carried on between the Apostle Paul and the Saints in Achaia, which extended over some considerable time, covering a wide range of topics and a variety of complicated and rapidly changing circumstances. The first (canonical) Epistle replies to a recent letter from Corinth (see vii. 1, etc.), which itself was based upon an earlier despatch to the Church from Paul (v. 9 ff.), and probably bore reference besides to a visit of inspection, brief and painful, that the Apostle had paid to Corinth still earlier but yet at a recent date (see 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 21–xiii. 2).[1] As Prof. Lock has shown in this journal (V. vi. pp. 65–73), and as other scholars have indicated at different points, 1 Corinthians betrays manifold allusions, besides its explicit references, to the lost Church letter. The more closely the Epistle is read in the light of this suggestion, the more evident it becomes that it is, in its construction and main tenor, a *rejoinder*. We are listening, as we read it, to one party of two engaged in a continued dialogue; and we can only guess from what we hear at what the other party, out of earshot, must have said. This paper is a guess at the missing half of the conversation; it is an attempt to reproduce, from the historical circumstances and from the hints of 1 Corinthians, the Epistle of the Cor-

[1] For this explanation of Paul's *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι* (2 Cor. xiii. 1), see chap. ii. in the Introduction to the Commentary on 1 Corinthians contained in vol. ii. of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*.

inthians to Paul which lay before the Apostle as he wrote or dictated his reply.

As to the general characteristics of the Epistle from Corinth, we gather that it was somewhat prolix and studied in style, coming from a Church that rated itself high in "word and knowledge"; that it was self-complacent and high-sounding, not to say pretentious, in its religious tone, and made strong declarations of fidelity; that it glossed over the quarrels of the church factions and ignored the criminal case brought into view in 1 Corinthians v., for of both these matters St. Paul hears from other sources; while it put forward a series of debatable questions for the Apostle's solution, which indicated great activity of mind and an earnest desire to have the relations of the Church with heathen society put upon a settled and tolerable footing.

This effort of reconstruction, however far it falls short of verisimilitude, may perhaps be justified as throwing into dramatic form the view of the situation, and of the relations between the Corinthian Church and its founder, which we gather from the New Testament documents. (Reference is made in brackets to the passages of 1 Corinthians, or in some instances of 2 Corinthians, which suggest the topics and sentences of our imaginary letter.)

"The assembly of the Christians in Corinth to Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, greeting.

"Gathered together in the name of the Lord Jesus, we salute thee in love, remembering thee continually in our prayers. We acknowledge thee always in all thankfulness as the Apostle of Christ unto us, and our father in Him; for we are indeed thy work in the Lord (ix. 2). Be assured that we are mindful of the traditions received from thee and thy fellow-labourers in the Gospel, and we hold them fast (xi. 2). The gifts of the Spirit bestowed upon us through

thy ministry, continue and abound (i. 7). Our prophets and teachers are building richly upon the foundation thou hast laid (iii. 10 ff., iv. 8). Apollos, above all, rendered us welcome and fruitful service after thy departure, confirming our faith by reason and Scripture and confuting the adversaries of the Gospel (see Acts xviii. 27 f.). We glorify God on his behalf, for the wisdom and persuasive speech and abounding zeal with which he laboured for our good. Haply at thy request (for we understand he tarries with thee at Ephesus), he will come again to Corinth and resume his work amongst us (xvi. 12); this we earnestly desire and entreat. Many of the brethren, thou wilt rejoice to hear, are eminently growing in knowledge and in utterance (i. 5). There is no lack of fit speakers in the assemblies; each has his psalm or tongue or prophecy; our difficulty is to find a hearing for all whom the Spirit prompts (xiv. 26 ff.). The whole Church is looking for the revealing of Jesus Christ, and for the coming of the kingdom of God unto which we were called (i. 7 ff.).

"We received thy letter of admonition (v. 9) with heedfulness and godly fear. Seeking to obey thy behests as the command of Christ, we desire to know more clearly their intent, concerning which there is debate amongst us. Thou biddest us separate ourselves from the unclean and have no fellowship with those who live in the sins of the Gentiles. Are we to take this injunction in its unrestricted sense? Our city, as thou well knowest, teems with impurities. If we may not in any wise mix with transgressors, we must depart from Corinth—nay, we doubt whether in the whole world we should find any spot where men dwell that is clear of defilement. We stand in doubt therefore, and beg thee to write once more (unless thou wilt thyself come forthwith), giving us instructions that none can mistake; for it is our wish to be ruled by thee and to please thee in whatsoever is possible.

"It grieves us to learn of the lasting grief that was caused thee on thy visit to our Church (2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 21). We have not forgotten, and we have impressed upon the offenders, the dreadful warning thou didst then pronounce (2 Cor. xiii. 2). We trust they will come to a full amendment, that so their backslidings may be healed, and that when thou returnest thou mayest have joy over all of us thy children in Corinth (2 Cor. ii. 2, 3). We count greatly upon thy promise to come hither first from Ephesus, on the way to Macedonia, and then to make thy home with us for a while after thy mission there. Our joy will thus be doubled (2 Cor. i. 15), and thine also, as we trust, through thy repeated presence in our midst.

"We have several questions, greatly discussed amongst us, which we here submit to thy wisdom, knowing that thou hast the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. ii. 16).

(*a*) "Is the single or the married state worthiest and fittest for a Christian,—especially for ourselves, situated as we are at Corinth? (vii.). It is gravely doubted whether a fixed condition of celibacy is right in itself and according to God's will for man. Thou knowest, moreover, the perils and suspicions to which the unwedded are here exposed. About our maiden daughters, who are asked in marriage, some of us know not how to decide for the best. There are not a few of the married, both men and women, whose spouses are still unbelieving. To such the yoke of wedlock is often grievous; the Christian partner is much hindered in the service of the Lord, and exposed to bitter trials. Sometimes a separation is wished for by the unbeliever; often it is refused. Several of our members judge that earlier marriage ties are dissolved by union with Christ, and thou hast bidden us 'not to be unequally yoked'; others hold marriage to be indissoluble by the law of the Creator. What sayest thou concerning this?

(*b*) "We are perplexed about the eating of *idolothyta*

(viii., etc.). We all have knowledge in this matter, understanding, since we have turned to the living God, that the idol is a vain thing and cannot pollute the creatures offered to it. For us, as thou hast taught us to say, 'There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we for Him; one Lord, even Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through Him.' And in this knowledge some of the brethren are so strong that they dare even to sit and eat in the house of the idol. To others this kind of freedom is a sore offence and scandal. They shudder at the thought of touching that which has been in contact with the idol; if they go to market, they inquire anxiously whether the meat on sale is consecrated flesh; if they dine in the house of an unbeliever, they are in embarrassment and fear (x. 25 ff.). Thus, thou seest, we are divided in opinion, and many times annoyed and vexed with each other. We remember thee saying, in regard to the like matters, 'All things are within my right.' From this it would seem that those are justified who use an unshackled liberty; and most of us incline to this way of thinking. But again we ask, What is thy judgment touching this thing, and how wouldst thou have us act?

(*c*) "Once more, we wish to inquire about *the workings of the Spirit.* We need some test to distinguish His genuine inspirations. Strange cries are raised, even in our assemblies as well as in other companies, that sound as divine and above nature and that confound our understanding (xii. 1–3). How may we discriminate these voices? Of the unquestioned gifts of the Spirit of Christ we have great variety and wealth. We need some means of regulating their use, so as to turn them to the best account. Some of us think more highly of this charism, some of that; and those who admire one gift are apt to disparage another. So there comes to be rivalry, and even wrangling and clamour in the assembly; and the exuberance of our spiritual

powers, through the malice of Satan, is turned to confusion. The gift of Tongues, we know, is an eminent faculty, bestowed on the Church from the beginning; thou dost thyself excel in its exercise (xiv. 18). Should it therefore be practised in the meetings of the Church without restraint, and take precedence of other charisms, even of prophecy? Some of us venture to question its utility, and would forbid altogether its public display (xiv. 39); moreover, strangers who happen to witness the Glossolalia are unfavourably affected thereby, and give it out that we are demented rather than inspired of God (xiv. 23). We are much at a loss, and need the light of thy counsel concerning this also.

(*d*) "We received with all good will thy appeal touching *the collection* for the poor of the saints in Jerusalem (xvi.); and Titus, when he came on this behalf, found us prepared to help according to our power (2 Cor. viii. 6). But the business halts through our uncertainty as to the best mode of gathering the money. Differing plans are proposed, and we are waiting for thy further advice, being wishful to do all things according to thy mind, and to collect a sum such as it will not shame thee to present (1 Cor. xvi. 4) as our contribution to this sacred necessity.

"With this letter our beloved brethren, Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus, dear also to thyself, will arrive at Ephesus, and will impart concerning our welfare, and concerning our love to thee and longing for thy presence, more than we can here set down. We have charged them with many messages of affection from the brethren, sent both to thee and to Apollos our brother, and to our beloved Aquila and Prisca. Perhaps thou wilt send us a reply to our questions through these our deputies, whose return we look for shortly, when they have been refreshed by thy company—bringing to thee also, as we fain hope, some refreshment of spirit on our part (xvi. 17 f.).

"We salute in Christ Jesus the brethren in Ephesus,

and in all the Churches of Asia. We rejoice greatly to hear that the word of the Lord is glorified amongst them, and to know that thou art reaping much fruit of thy continued labour in that region.

"Mayest thou, by the mercy of God, be strengthened in body, and be comforted in heart in regard both to us and to all thy disciples in the Lord. Our love be with thee in Christ Jesus. Farewell!"

GEO. G. FINDLAY.

CHRIST'S THREE JUDGES.

I. CAIAPHAS.

(MATTHEW XXVI. 57–66.)

ON Caiaphas, first, was laid the burden of judging Jesus of Nazareth; and the temper in which he faced the task is worthy of our study, for it shows in a great historic instance the difficulty a man must find in denying to Christ His place. Caiaphas, of course, had had his mind made up for long; rumour had discovered this man to him as an enemy of order and religion, and he was not sorry when, at length, the chance was offered of giving effect to that opinion. But the judgment seat is bound by self-respect; and when the men were face to face, Caiaphas could not speak simply from rumour or his own prejudice—he must, as a judge, find reason for thinking the worst of his prisoner. The interest of the situation arises at that point: he wished to justify his own prejudice, and to justify himself in getting rid of Jesus as a disturber. But the task was harder than he thought, and, at last, we see his temper, fretted by the unlooked-for hindrances, rush up in sudden conflagration as he cries, "I adjure Thee by the living God that Thou tell us if Thou be the Christ, the Son of God." The question did not aim at information, for no assurance on Christ's

part would have convinced Caiaphas that He was other than a pretender. It was a bewildered attempt to extort from the prisoner some word which would justify the evil reports of Him; for even His judge, bent upon His death, found it hard to think other than nobly of Jesus when they were face to face. And that might be given as one part of Christ's mission in the world: He seeks to bring men away from their prejudices and their evasions to where they must look Him in the face, and see Him for what He is. If, at the beginning, it could be said of Him, "He is despised and rejected of men," "He came to His home, and His own people received Him not," it is also said in prophecy, "Behold, He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and even those who pierced Him; and all the nations of the earth shall mourn because of Him." For He passes up from rejection to a universal recognition, and a universal homage. And the change is wrought as men are driven one by one to see Him as He is.

In the High Priest's case we are, however, reminded that, in spite of difficulty, a man may hold to the meaner judgment of the Christ. Though Caiaphas and Jesus were face to face, and though the judge was not insensible to the look of innocence in the prisoner, there were other forces at work in him which kept him from seeing Christ at all. It was his business to maintain an existing order from which he got his wealth and social consequence, and to which he owed all that was best in his life. It is unreasonable to think of him merely as the champion of the interests of a class; at least we may be sure he fancied there was more than that in his purpose. He was not, probably, a very religious man; but something he knew of religion—the decorum, the antiquity, the solemnity of it—and it was all bound up with the Temple service. This was not, in his view, a vulgar conflict about the material advantages of the priesthood; he was the custodier of a great tradition,

which was seriously threatened by the Galilean ministry. By clearing the Temple courts Jesus had called attention to an abuse which the priests had suffered to grow up; and on the same occasion He had declared that, though the sanctity of the Temple were altogether destroyed, He could of Himself rear up a new order of right worship. He set His own decision against that of Moses, and affirmed or limited parts of the law as one who had authority. And in all this He won the assent of many. The man healed of blindness was bold, in face of the Council, to declare, "He is a Prophet." Officers sent to report His words returned with a new sense of awe, for "never man spake like this Man." Men of rank within the Council—Nicodemus and Joseph—were wavering; for this obscure man, of whom the worst was credible, was somehow able to break the weapons which were used by Caiaphas against Him, and held on His dangerous way, unfixing men's regard for the ancient order of religion. So disdain changed to irritation, and that deepened into hatred against One who threatened what was sacred in the High Priest's eyes. And throughout that process, Caiaphas never once was able to see Christ justly; he saw a distorted imagination of Him through the mist of his own ignorance and his threatened interests. And when, at length, Jesus stood before him, Caiaphas was unable to see Him from the constraint of habit. He sought not for the truth about his prisoner, but for a better persuasion that he already knew the truth.

The same difficulty is common to men; and they come into conditions of singular advantage for knowing Christ, so hampered by their own past that they cannot know Him. Unconsciously they have adopted a view of His value, and they have been confirmed in that in the time of their ignorance. They have judged Him on grounds of rumour, considering not what He is, but what people have said of Him, or what those are who believe in Him. And to the

end they may see the real Christ through that haze of misinformation; for the habits of a lifetime are not easily shaken off. Within the Church itself there are many who judge unworthily of Christ's claim upon them because they do not truly see Him. Just as the High Priest, with no adequate information of what Jesus taught, yet vaguely surmised in Him a force unfriendly to the old order, so men are still driven into antagonism by such vague suspicion. They do not know what He really seeks, or the promise that lies in His call; they dislike what they fancy He is seeking, and they see in Him always one who threatens the continuance of much they have enjoyed. The promise of a new manhood is to them a threat, for they find the old is good. They do not wish to change, but to remain as they are. And when Christ, whom the common people heard gladly, is presented to them, they see Him in the shadow of their own ignorance. And from that there would be no escape if it were not for the mercy of our God, who delivers men from the blunders of their own past and offers them another chance. In the working of Providence, God brings them to look at His Son in new relations, to judge Him in new conditions. As on that night so many ages back, Jesus is hurried to-day from one tribunal to another; and every man is given the judge's place, and is asked again on soul and conscience for his sentence on Jesus, called the Christ. We may not see Him rightly yet, or give Him all His place; it is much if we even feel, like Caiaphas, that the meaner judgment of the past is hard to maintain, and that a new judgment is now called for.

A man has come far in his apprehension of the truth who finds it hard to bring Christ down to the measures of ordinary human life. In Him we often meet with the contradiction which vexed the temper of the High Priest. On the surface is a suggestion of obscurity and feebleness which tempts us to judge lightly of Him; but when we go deeper,

we find always more of mystery and authority, so that the first prompt judgment is rebuked by facts which it cannot explain. The strength of the catholic faith is that, whenever men have given to Christ a place less than the highest, there remains a margin of historical fact which demands another judgment. Many to-day are tempted to find in Christ nothing more than a supremely good man; they recognise in Him a Pattern, an Example, a Teacher. But He claimed more than that, and the record of His relations with His people is filled with something different from that. The holy Church throughout all the world has confessed the beauty of His example and the truth of His teaching; but what has wrung from it the most passionate utterances of devotion is neither example nor teaching. He is the Saviour, "who has loved us and loosed us from our sins in His own blood, and has made us priests to God." There is surely an enormous audacity in leaving out the facts which look in that direction, and in recognising in Christ only what our previous misinformation has allowed us to see. The testimony of those who have been closest to the heart of Jesus is itself a fact which requires consideration; and a wise man, even if he cannot go with them yet in all their witness, will admit that in that direction there lies some element of truth which he has not yet mastered. He will say what he can, but will not close or complete his formula; he sees in the Cross a martyrdom, the inevitable end of a religious reformer's career; he sees that love is at the heart of the mystery, love which is always vicarious, and takes to itself burdens which are not its own. Step by step he may advance, and still feel that the fact is beyond him. Jesus breaks the bread, and gives it to the disciples, saying, "This is My body, broken for you." You are to be fed and strengthened by My death. "This cup is the new covenant in My blood." A new relation between God and man is made possible by this event in history. When

the traitor went out from the company, and Jesus entered into the valley of the shadow where He knew such bitterness, He said, "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." He felt that, at last, He was coming to His crown, His day of obscurity and impotence was ending. The first step into the shadow was, in His judgment, a step up to the throne. And thus one writer is bold to speak of Him as "crowned with a view to the suffering of death." Is it not a little precarious to find in Christ's death everything except what He found in it, and His Church has found?

Wherever we touch Jesus of Nazareth we find something of the same kind, for after we have conceded all that life has prepared us to grant, we are pressed with the necessity of granting more. Some people set limits to their thoughts of Jesus, because they do not wish to be driven past a limit in submission; and others because their theories do not leave room for a larger Christ. To each Christ has something to say; He will be judged by Himself, not in the light of a man's preconceptions. He will not come in as a detail in a philosophical theory, to take the measures and play the part which the theory allows. He cannot be understood at all by those whose theory has room for no exceptions, for He claimed to be alone, and His Church has worshipped Him as the Only Begotten. Against the cramping conditions to which men subject Him He asserts Himself; when they roll the stone, and set their seal to mark that He has found a limit, they declare their own incompetence. "He dieth no more." And reverent thinkers, who have dared to say less of Christ than the Apostles did, have yet been conscious of a margin of power and mystery beyond their explanation. Like Caiaphas, they have felt that the view they brought with them was curiously hard to maintain; and their fidelity to facts would draw them on to widen their thoughts, and give Christ more room. At all degrees

of apprehension we need to say of Him, "Now we see in a glass darkly, but then face to face."

The one thing certain is that the claims of Jesus cannot suffer by being brought into clearest light. The region in which He is condemned or made little of is the region in which tradition and preconceived opinion rule. Caiaphas is the type of those who are being driven by Christ into the open, and who struggle back to the congenial dimness of half knowledge. There I had no hesitations, Caiaphas might have said; the matter was plain, and my duty to the country was plain. And now I must by any means find reason for thinking Him such as I once thought Him. And Jesus to that makes answer, "From this day on you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power." He divined the movements in the soul of Caiaphas; He saw him struggling back into the gloom; and He said, From this day on it will be harder and harder for you to set the Son of man aside, until it will be impossible. He might use the same words to all men. "When a man is right, he is much more right than he thinks," is a wise French saying; and he who gives Christ His place finds his act confirmed by the experience of every year. And he who gives Christ another place will find it harder, as life goes on, to keep Him from His crown; he will need to do more and more violence to facts. For Christ is on His way to the throne; to Him every knee shall bow.

That assertion of Christ's gives to His religion its proper place in life. Caiaphas had striven to depress and disregard it, whilst Christ claimed for it a growing prevalence and mastery over the thoughts of men. "From this day on you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power." Mark Pattison, in his Autobiography, observes casually that "religion is a good servant, but a bad master," an epigram which has all the vices of its race. It has an appreciable core of sense, but so minute as to warrant any

one in rather calling it nonsense. And yet, to a host of people religion is a servant; it accepts the limits and conditions which they impose; it comes and goes at call, and gives no trouble. It is one of the minor interests in life, belonging to the circle of their relaxations. Such people are often quite orthodox, in so far as religion is a matter of dead truths; but they certainly know nothing of what religion really is. For it is wholly a force, and its ideas are what Ruskin calls "sapling truths," which grow and blossom out into more glorious truths. The religion of Jesus can never be a servant: it is a power, which takes hold of a man and leads him on to farther and farther confession of Jesus Christ. Continually it discovers more of what Christ is and what He asks; belief grows and obedience grows; and thus life, under its constraint, is both quickened and widened from year to year. A Christian man to-day has thoughts and accepts duties which were not in his mind at the beginning. When Jesus bade him follow, he did not know where he might be led; but he has tried to go where Christ has led him, and in all places of fear and doubt the goodness of his Leader has upheld him. "The love of Christ constraineth us." That is what we have to seek in Christ, and not, like Caiaphas, to catch at every plea which might bear us out in disregard of Him. Men's lives in the end are tested at this point—what they have made of Jesus Christ; a revolutionary, says one, a saint, a holy teacher of truth, a friend and lover of men. Is that all? Is there nothing more to say? Paul said of Jesus Christ, "He loved me and gave Himself for me"; and so he lived as one no longer his own, but bound to learn and to serve. And Thomas, with doubt all banished, fell before Him, crying, "My Lord and my God!" Can we say that yet?

W. M. MacGregor.

THE EARLIER HOME OF THE SINAITIC PALIMPSEST.

It will be a surprise to some of the readers of the Expositor, as indeed it has been to myself, to learn that anything fresh can now be said about that remarkable manuscript which I had the good fortune to discover, eight years ago, in the library of the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. That manuscript contains, in its under script, the earliest Syriac version of the Four Gospels ; and this has not only taxed the best energies of three very able Cambridge scholars to decipher, but has, by the purity of its text, and the felicity of many of its readings, awakened a world-wide interest amongst Biblical critics and students.

Whence came this almost unique specimen of the Gospels? Was it copied from an older manuscript in obedience to the decree of Rabbula Bishop of Edessa, when, in the fifth century, he ordained that the separate Gospels were to be read in the churches in place of Tatian's *Diatessaron*? Did it spring from a nest of Ebionite heresy? or does its curious reading of Matthew i. 16 represent some approach to the original illogical form of our Lord's, or rather of Joseph's, genealogy? No oracle will answer this question unless, perhaps, some chemical shall be discovered which will coax the second column on f. 139 *v.* to yield up its secret.

But though we are not in a position to solve this mystery, we can trace one more step of its descent to us through the ages, for we can now state with confidence where was its home before it was carried to Sinai.

The manuscript, it will be remembered, is a palimpsest. The upper script is chiefly the biographies of women saints, and forms a continuous book from end to end, the title of

which is *Select Narratives*. These were compiled, or rather translated, from the Greek by a certain John the Recluse, of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha. So the introductory rubric tells us. And we learn further, from the final colophon, that this was done in the year one thousand and nine, or one thousand and nine[ty], after Alexander, *i.e.* in A.D. 697 or A.D. 778.

It is thus evident that John of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha was the person who took the old Syriac codex of the Gospels to pieces, and used it up simply as writing material, mixing its pages so that the texts of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke, and of John, are mingled in what cannot exactly be called a harmony. Nor did the Gospel codex satisfy his wants, for he used up likewise portions of three other manuscripts. But that is beside our point to-day.

It will readily be perceived that, if we can get some light on this man's history, or his place of abode, and especially on the monastery in which he wrote, we shall be in a better position to speculate as to where he got his old vellum—I beg my readers' pardon, where he found a very ancient and valuable copy of the Four Gospels.

But how may we get this light? The Gospel part of the codex was carefully deciphered in 1893 by the late lamented Prof. Bensly, Dr. Rendel Harris, and Mr. Burkitt, and what they left unread was mostly gleaned by the present writer in 1895. It was completely photographed by me at the time of its discovery. The photographs have been in my hands, and have been studied by several scholars, for the last seven years. How should anything further remain to be told?

Truth is stranger than fiction. I have long purposed giving the *Select Narratives* to the world; and as the last sheet of these was passing through the press, I took it up on Good Friday morning, A.D. 1900, and began to compare it with my photograph of the penultimate page. I must

explain that the six lines which compose the final colophon of these *Select Narratives* are at the very top of the last page of the manuscript (f. 161*b*), and those lines were read by me, all but a few words, on my first visit to Sinai in 1892. They were examined by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1893, and I believe also by Dr. Bensly, though of this we have unfortunately no record. Four words in the line were read in 1895 only when they appeared on a lantern slide. But the nine lines at the foot of f. 161*a* appeared hopeless. During my last three visits to Sinai—in 1893, 1895, and 1897—I washed it over with the re-agent; but the effect was so slight that I thought myself quite justified in leaving it unread. Judge of my amazement then, on Good Friday morning, when, as I was studying my 1892 photograph, with the view of picking up only a few scattered letters to print at the foot of my page, I suddenly read the word *Antiochia!* It flashed on me that the five lines at the top of f. 161*b*, which had been already published, were only the latter part of the final colophon, and that here was its beginning. So, with the help of a magnifying glass, and by placing the photographs of 1892 and 1895 side by side, I made out about thirty-eight words. After these had been verified by my sister, I sent the photographs to Dr. Nestle, of Maulbronn, and he managed to decipher eight words more.

I do not give the Syriac text of these in this place, because some time must elapse before all that is visible in my photographs will be read; and I hope to have it less imperfect when it appears in No. ix. of *Studia Sinaitica*. But the sense, in English, is briefly this:

"*I, the mean one, and the sinner, John the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Qanūn* (*Conon?*), *the monastery of the cave to the left of the city of Kaukab of Antioch, by the* [*mercy*] *of God, I have written this book for the profit of myself, of my brethren, and of those who are neighbours to it; but because of the* [*love*]

of the Christ, I would persuade all those who [*read*] *in it to pray for me the more* [*earnestly*]. . . . *But whenever thou meetest with this* [*book*] . . . *concerning the sinner thy prayer.*"

This leaves us in no doubt as to where the editor of the *Select Narratives* lived. He calls himself "John of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha" in the introductory section; but "Ḳaddisha" is probably only a title of the monastery, whose distinctive name was "Beth-Mari-Qanūn."

And where was Kaukab of Antioch? It must have been in the valley of the Orontes, the home of St. Symeon, the Stylite, and of his followers, of whom John the Recluse was one.

We may therefore conclude, with some show of certainty, that the Palimpsest of the Four Gospels was put into its present form in Antioch, the splendid metropolis of the East; *Orientis apex pulcher* as it was called by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 9, 14); the place where the word "Christian" was first uttered; the home of Ignatius, Chrysostom, Libanius, and Evagrius.

Antioch was, in the earliest centuries of our faith, not only the seat of a bishopric which might have disputed with the see of Rome its claim to priority, but the home of a Christian community second to none in its zeal for sacred learning. If we may believe Chrysostom, one-half of its 200,000 inhabitants were, in the fourth century, Christians, and the Syriac-speaking rustics in the district around it were remarkable for the tranquil, modest, and venerable character of their lives. They delighted not in horse races, nor in meretricious women, nor in the tumult of cities, but they found a school of virtue and modesty in the cultivation of the soil, pursuing the art which God introduced into our life before all others (vol. ii. p. 222).

Chrysostom bore testimony also to the fervent piety of the citizens, to their zeal for hearing the Word of God, for

nightly vigils, and for penitence (vol. ii. p. 856). If the statues were thrown down in a riot, this was the work of strangers, and not of the inhabitants themselves (vol. ii. p. 43). Some of this earnest piety ran into asceticism, which, in the fifth century, produced an abnormal growth in the person of St. Symeon Stylites and his followers. Antioch was his birthplace; and there, on the precipitous cliffs of Monte Casio, overlooking the beautiful lake, the λίμνη κατ' ἐξοχήν, was the little monastery of his sect, and a column cut into the living rock, perchance the very column on whose summit he lived for thirty years. Wonderful indeed is it that followers and imitators of such a man should have been found three centuries later, near the same spot, at the time when the *Select Narratives* of our palimpsest were written; and fain would our imagination send a ray of light through the mist that envelops those distant ages, to ascertain whether John really lived upon a pillar, and only came down from his chill perch in the rainy winter, mayhap, to chronicle the sufferings and endurance of those weak women whose heroism he would fain have imitated.

A more important question remains unsolved. Where did he find the Old Syriac codex of the Gospels? and why was it valued by him simply as writing material to be re-scraped for the sake of the women's life-story? Seventeen of its leaves had doubtless been lost before it came into his hands; and those who think that it had been condemned as heretical are entitled to their hypothesis; but by far the most obvious reason is simply this: that the Peshiṭta version of the Scriptures having been authoritatively adopted by the Syriac Church, and efforts having been made to bring it more and more into harmony with some of the Greek codices, all others were looked upon as obsolete and well-nigh useless. This we can the more readily understand when we reflect how a very little more felicity of diction

on the part of the Revisers of our English New Testament would have consigned not thousands, but millions of copies of our once highly-prized Authorized Version to limbo; and how not impossibly even Luther's version, of which our German cousins are so justly proud, may at no distant day be superseded by Kautsch's. Some copies of the old book will be treasured as heirlooms; but in the less enlightened eighth century even monks wished to be abreast of the times, or they submitted with too great alacrity to the ordinances of their bishops. We may wonder less at this Sinaitic, or, as we should rather call it now, this Antiochene codex having been palimpsested than at the Curetonian manuscript having been mercifully spared to us in its original condition.

It is a far cry from Antioch to Mount Sinai, from the grassy banks of the rushing torrent which has been so aptly named by the Arabs *el-Hassy*, "the rebel," and the thousand rills of purest water, to the barren bosom of the Wady ed-Deir. Yet in the latter it has certainly found a more secure home. The Convent of St. Catherine has more than once stood the stress of war, but its fortress walls, built by Justinian in the sixth century, are still intact, while the Deir Beth-Mari-Qanūn and Kaukab are to us little more than names. The monastery of Kaukab is mentioned in two of the colophons to codex A of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (the Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum of the Vatican Library), its other name being Deir Mari Elia.

Of Deir Beth-Mari-Qanūn we have (guided by a reference in the *Thes. Syr.*) found only the record by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304, where, according to Jacob Bishop of Serug, it is included in a list of eight monasteries whence some Edessene monks were expelled because they refused to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.[1] We may therefore conclude that it was built

before the middle of the fifth century, and that John the Recluse, the Stylite, was quite orthodox as concerning the faith. His creed was certainly the one which he inserted betwixt the stories of Theodota and of Susan (see my *Introduction*, pp. viii.–xiv.), and the name of Beth-Mari-Qanūn has no connexion whatever with that of Conon the heresiarch. I shall be grateful for any further information about these localities.

But when was the Palimpsest carried to Sinai? Perhaps the Hegoumenos of St. Catherine's procured it at Antioch when in search of some good reading for his monks, and finding the *Select Narratives* to his taste, carried both it and the Arabic codex (numbered 588 in Mrs. Gibson's catalogue) to his desert home in a bundle of other books. The correspondence between the under script of these two palimpsests in the text of the apocryphal *Repose of the Virgin* was detected by Dr. Rendel Harris, and recorded in my Introduction to the *editio princeps* of the Syriac Gospels (1894). Or more probably, in a time of war and pestilence, of earthquake or of persecution, the owner of both fled from the turmoil of Antioch, and found refuge, as many have since done, with the ever-hospitable monks of the lonely Convent.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

[1] From S. Jacob of Serug, *Epistola ad Jacobum Abbatem*:—
Monasterium Naphesciatensis, seu de Anima meminit etiam Dionysius in Chronico ad annum Graecorum 837, fol. 95, ubi de Monachis Edessenis loquens, qui Asclepii Episcopi jussu e Monasteriis suis pulsi sunt, eò quod Sacrum Chalcedonense Concilium recipere detrectabant, hæc Monasteriorum nomina indicat: Monasterium Sancti Nicolai, Monasterium Sancti Cononis, etc.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

III. Unity against Plurality.

B. Job.

It is an acknowledged principle of criticism that texts should be regarded as sound and entire, unless there is reason for supposing them unsound and imperfect. Real difficulties may be dealt with by trenchant methods, but unless there is an obvious ulcer, the knife should not be applied. Any explanation of a book which requires no secondary hypothesis to shore it up has therefore an advantage over explanations that are based on a number of unproved assumptions. Before what are called critical methods came in vogue the unity of the book of Job was assumed, although different explanations were given of the lesson to be derived from it. The modern process of dissection has scarcely led to any greater agreement on this latter point, and has besides introduced a subjective element which renders the chance of ultimate agreement infinitesimal. For, as Homer says, "the steel possesses an attraction of its own"; if all the critics whom you respect use the knife, you will be unable to resist the temptation to use it on your own account.

As a whole the book of Job is intelligible, and, indeed, easily intelligible; as a piece of patchwork it defies explanation. Supposing that it could be shown to contradict itself seriously, we should have to show that other works on the same subject do not contradict themselves seriously before we could derive from that fact any proof of composite authorship. And the argument to be derived from inconsistency is of the least possible value where the subjects discussed are those whereon scarcely any one has a fixed opinion—indeed, if there be any truth in Kant's antinomies,

on which every man almost of necessity holds contradictory opinions.

The explanation of the book would naturally be sought in the prologue, and it is there given with the utmost precision. Does man do work in order to take wages, or does he take wages in order that he may do work? God's intention is the latter; the view of the accuser of the human race is the former. Job is to be the test case. Job is called God's servant, or rather, slave. A servant is clearly one who has to do work; whether he receives wages or not is a secondary question. In the case of a slave the master scarcely professes to give him more than will enable him to do his work: but if the performance of the work be the important matter, and the wage be defined as the amount of material comfort which will enable the worker to perform it with the greatest efficiency, the takings of the slave and of the free labourer will be identical, supposing the master in both cases to understand his interests. The prospect of wages may have been the inducement which at the commencement caused the labourer to enter the service; but if he be a true worker, it will be the prospect of doing the work which will induce him to continue in it, even though the wages be diminished, or practically cease. Love of God in any practical system has always meant anxiety to carry out God's commands, irrespective of any reward present or future; and the only way of proving whether any man really love God is to subject him to the test to which Job is subjected in the Hebrew book that bears his name, and the just man is submitted in Plato's *Republic*. If any man pass the whole of it, then Satan may be told that God has a servant upon earth; if the best man fail to pass it, then the book may be regarded as a prophecy of ONE who will pass it.

The fact that Satan appears in the prologue and is afterwards not mentioned has given rise to some very superficial

criticism. Clearly there is no difficulty about it. We are not dualists, who believe in a Power of Good and a Power of Evil. But the accusation of the human race has to be put in some one's mouth; there can be no trial without an accuser. What accuses the human race must be the difficulties before which they recoil, just as what commends them would be the record of difficulties overcome. Now, the difficulties that are to be thrown in Job's way cannot be brought on the stage and made to speak before they exist; that would violate all dramatic propriety. Satan, whose name is a general term for them all, speaks in their stead. But when his pleading is over, his presence is of no further use. The author does not make Satan himself produce any effect beyond the striking of Job with disease; and this he does as God's minister. For the other misfortunes he is responsible only so far as it is at his instigation that the experiment is being tried.

We therefore dismiss at the outset all theories that make the book of Job resemble a Platonic dialogue, as exhibiting the process whereby an opinion formed itself in the mind of the author. The author *assumes* that the purpose of evil is probation. In the process whereby chaos is turned into order it has pleased God to give man a share; as a servant he must do work. Is he to be a beginner who complains because the work set him is too hard, or an expert who grumbles if it is too easy? Is he to be an infant who fancies that his parents wish him to work in order that he may get a prize, or a scholar who is aware that he is given prizes only because it is desirable that the best worker should possess the best tools? Now to distinguish between different sorts of obstacles is difficult, if not impossible. For each sort science has either precaution or remedy: in the worst case alleviation. A sudden change of fortune is therefore parallel to a sudden transference from one form of service to another. *Faith* will suggest that such transfer-

ence is designed, and due to the ascertained fact that the victim of the change will discharge the second service well as he has discharged the first well. Since a cheerful demeanour under such changes will certainly be one test of a servant's competence, it will be easy to tell whether Job can stand his trial or not. If he abandons God's service, we shall know that Satan was right.

Meanwhile the author of the book is standing *his* test. He professes to take us behind the scenes, and he has to prove that he has been there himself. The account which he gives of evil is that whereon the best writers are probably agreed. His view is in accordance with experience to a nicety. That good conduct ordinarily produces prosperity follows from the working of economic and physical laws; but to say that it always produces it is to run counter to experience. That morality is suggested by the desire for physical comfort may be true; that it always needs that support is grossly untrue. Hence the writer of the book of Job proves his competence to compose a work in which men are represented as discussing the problem of evil by showing that he has himself solved it so far as its solution is practicable or desirable.

In the second place he shows himself fit to write a drama by representing men acting as they normally act. The author of a martyrology would probably have represented Job's family as employed in religious exercises; our author makes them occupy themselves as the young normally occupy themselves—in sport. Job's own time, we presently learn, is far too valuable to be passed in the same way; but while he countenances his children's gaiety, he takes pains to see that they do no harm. The point, however of verses 4–6 of the first chapter is evidently to provide a probable occasion for the misfortune which happened to Job's children, while showing that it cannot have been earned by any actual offence.

The order in which the misfortunes come is that of magnitude—loss of wealth is the lightest, loss of children next. Job's faith is equal to these two trials, and apparently his wife's faith is equal to them also. To have made Job's wife greatly inferior to Job would have been undramatic—an eccentricity only to be justified by the author's dealing with historical matter which he could not seriously alter. But in making her succumb at the third trial, while Job himself does not succumb till the fourth, the author agrees with the opinion of most ancient writers, who regard the male sex as more patient than the female. That Clytemnestra can hope for ten years that Troy will fall proves, according to Æschylus, that she has the soul of a man. Had Job's wife been produced on an actual stage, she would doubtless have been of smaller stature and physically weaker than her husband; similarly, in her power of endurance, she is made unusually strong, but not so strong as Job. Those who judge her fairly will admire her patience under loss of property and children, instead of finding fault with her for giving advice like that of the "foolish women" at the third trial.

After these three losses, what has Job left that he can lose? *His good name.* Plato and our author are agreed that if we would test the really just man, we must deprive him of this also. Other tests will scarcely be greater than those which the common soldier and sailor have to face, which the fear of losing their good name ordinarily enables them to bear cheerfully. The just man must not only bear losses and afflictions, but must be thought, while doing so, to be worse than his neighbours, and to deserve no sympathy. Here, then, we have a matter for which the dialogue is the appropriate vehicle; for reputation lives on men's mouths. The other afflictions could best be told by a narrator. The loss of Job's good name can be most powerfully portrayed if Job's traducers are themselves brought on

the stage; and the blow will be heaviest if those traducers are men of note and honour themselves, and Job's familiar friends. It is time, then, for the narrator to withdraw, and for the *dramatis personæ* to appear.

Moreover, since a reputation is not blasted at once, the length of the dialogue will give the hearer time to mark the stages whereby confidence in Job is shaken, and his guilt supposed to be proved. If he stand this last test—if, in spite of loss of fame, he continue to speak reverently of God, then Satan will be answered; it will be clear that Job will have recognised that reputation, like other goods, is an instrument to help certain forms of work for God, whereas for others it is not required, so that he will no more repine at the loss of it than a drummer who was made captain would repine at the loss of his drum. Whereas if in this last case he prove unfaithful, we shall know that his former conduct was not based on the right principle, but rather on instinct or habit; and if the best man in the world be so insufficiently armed, what must be the case with the others?

The persons who are first introduced are representatives of the best wisdom and morality of the time. The LXX. translator, who makes them princes, though his intention is to give what is sometimes called a social lift to the characters, does not seriously violate the author's intention. They are learned, one of them professes himself a prophet, and they are all observers of the order of nature; only, like the vast majority of mankind, they have no moral courage. They have a certain theory of the ways of God, viz., that moral conduct is a coin wherewith prosperity is purchased from God. Prosperity is the end, and virtue the means; and God must of course be just in His dealings. Whereas then the right and scientific method is at all times to start from facts and only arrive at principles from them, with the probability that the principles will have to be corrected or modified by fresh experience, Job's friends are unable to

see more than a part of experience. From the fact that Job and his children were certainly innocent, they dare not reconsider their principle; the only course before them is to deny the evidence of their senses and do an injustice, in the idea that God will be pleased thereby. Any one who has ever had to argue with persons who have a strong interest in believing something, can prophesy that the argument will not advance, because the opponent will throw up everything rather than acknowledge that his principle is wrong. And, in Job's case, Job is not more enlightened about principles than his friends; he is personally conscious of his innocence, but is so immeshed in the false principle that it is clear he would have judged as they judged. So far, then, as the three friends argue, the parties become more and more embittered, and the belief in Job's guilt, which was at first faintly whispered, becomes, by the third round, a matter of conviction. But where people meet facts with theories there is no chance of their arriving at the truth, for that can only be got at through the facts.

The question whether Job's friends represent different theories has sometimes been discussed; it is clear that if they did so, such a subject would never have given rise to discussion. Reputation is a thing that requires a number of votes. One man is not sufficient to stand for public opinion; hence the more nearly the friends agree in their notions, the more dramatically will they stand for the world in general. If Job could have got one of the three to see his side of the question, his reputation would not have appeared hopelessly lost; since by defending himself he makes each one of them think worse of him than the last, the reader feels that Job's good name is gone with his other possessions.

By the fact that the third speaker is silent at the third round, the failure of the friends in their capacity of consolers

is indicated; and, in the monologue, Job tells the hearer more calmly than he could do in the dialogue some of his convictions. We learn that he has a very good opinion of himself; he goes through the whole list of offences and is certain of his complete innocence. He tells the hearer how keenly he misses the place of honour and the approval of the crowd, and pities the world for the loss of such a man as himself. He forgets himself in chapter xxvii. sufficiently to deliver a discourse which would have been suitable in the mouth of one of the friends.

The last speaker introduced is quite a different person from the sheikhs. He is young, verbose, and conceited; but, like the young, he has a certain amount of candour and readiness to acknowledge facts which is wanting in his seniors. The difficulty of his language is so great that we cannot as yet interpret him with certainty. What is certain is, that he finds fault with Job, not for imaginary offences, but for actual blasphemy committed since the change in his fortunes, and that he contributes in chapter xxxiii. some very new ideas to the discussion.

Lastly, God Himself is introduced speaking. This is contrary to experience, for the speakers have several times distinctly asserted that it is impossible to arraign the Deity before a human tribunal. The voice of God is doubtless the light thrown on the matter by physical science. That reveals an amount of wisdom and power which makes it absurd for any human being to doubt God's justice; for only he who comprehends the whole plan has a right to criticise any part of it. But it by no means gives the solution of Job's difficulty directly. He only learns that what happens to him must have its place in the gigantic plan. What its place is he does not yet know. The doctrine that the hardest problem is set to the aptest scholar must be discovered by man's own wit; Job, though the most devout of mankind, has no notion of it.

Hence it would seem that there need be little about the *main thought* of Job that is unintelligible. It is a drama in so far as it exhibits men acting as they normally act. If it were the custom for men to draw correct inferences from phenomena, and to abandon their prejudices so soon as they find them inconsistent with experience, then Job's friends would be violating dramatic probability in doing the reverse of this. It is clear that they have the materials for the study of the problem. Why do they come to console him at the start? Certainly not because of the wealth that he has lost nor the power which he is no longer able to exercise, but because of his virtue. That then being in their eyes as well as in Job's the important matter, how could externals stand in any causal connection with virtue, so that absence of fortune could imply absence of virtue? Hence the real relation of virtue to prosperity forms a profitable subject of discussion, but no one thinks of discussing it. That God is just is a self-evident proposition, which Job thinks fit to deny; the friends all assert it loudly; but it does not occur to them to try and define justice. Job himself can only think of what it *denotes*, not of its actual significance. And since the methods of moral science do not differ from those of physical science, but the latter is more easily started, nature recommends men to acquire their method over the former. And indeed it is historically true that the physical philosophy of the Ionians preceded the moral philosophy of Socrates and Plato.

The tame ending to the story is what we should have expected from the experiment having failed. The friends are compelled to atone for having accused the innocent, in the idea that such advocacy was pleasing to the Divine Being; Job has also to make atonement for having meddled with things that are too high for him. The chance that he had was to be God's *argument* against the Accuser of the human race; what he chooses is to be a worthy pater-

familias and a man of wealth and station. The human race has therefore to wait a series of centuries ere ONE arise who shall beat down Satan under His feet. Had Job known that the worth of the human race was being tested by his conduct, probably he would have stood the fourth trial as he stood the first three. But nature does not tell us when we are being tested; and what we are to learn from Job's failure at the fourth trial is that his passing successfully through the earlier trials was in part accidental. Had his conduct been based on the right principle, he would have found the fourth trial no harder than the former three.

But while the general plan and purpose of the book and also its place in the Divine revelation are clear, it must be confessed that in numerous cases whole verses are unintelligible, sometimes indeed owing to our ignorance of the meaning of particular words, but more often in spite of our acquaintance with the signification of all the words employed. Occasionally this difficulty can be dealt with on the supposition that the text is corrupt; but in most cases the amount of correction required in order to produce a satisfactory sense is too great for critical probability. Hence we have to look about for a more likely solution of the problem, and there is one suggested by the local colouring of the book.

The scene is laid in Arabia. The home of Job may be identified with Al-'Iss, of which the valuable geography of Hamdani gives a description. It is, he says, the name of the country between Wadi Al-Kura and Al-Hijr.[1] The name figures several times on Mr. Doughty's excellent map. Job's home in Hamdani's time gave its name to a particular kind of dates;[2] and since we learn that from Al-Hijr to Tayma, the home of Eliphaz, was three days' journey, the length of time spent on the road by Eliphaz can be calcu-

[1] Hamdani, ed. Müller, p. 131, 15. [2] *Ibid.*

lated. Both Hamdani and the author of the *Geographical Lexicon* mention Al-'Iss as being in the neighbourhood of *mines*—a fact which we might have suspected from chapter xxviii. If the name of Nejd include Al-'Iss (as, from Hamdani, seems to be the case), then it is observable that Job in xxix. 1–4 speaks of the sunny days of his life as his *autumn*; for an Arabic meteorologer [1] observes that in Nejd it does not rain in the autumn, whereas in other regions of Arabia rain falls at that season of the year.

The life of the inhabitants of these wadis is known to us from the brilliant descriptions of W. G. Palgrave and others. The people are at times in danger of losing everything through the torrents which pour down the mid hollow in the rainy season, when the houses that are built too low down are ruined.[2] Of the torrents which ravaged Mecca a chronicle was at one time kept.[3] On one occasion the stone called "Abraham's Station" was swept away. Such events are deeply impressed on the minds of the speakers in Job. "A pouring river was their foundation" (xxii. 16); "Why do you not ask the travellers, and make sure of their landmarks? how the wicked is reserved for the day of trouble, the day when the torrents rush down" (xxi. 30).[4] The landmarks of which the speaker is thinking are probably the erections put up in the Dahna by philanthropic travellers to guide their successors.[5]

A remarkable piece of description is contained in vi. 15–20. We are told there that the caravans of Tayma and Saba had often to return owing to the failure of the torrents on which they had counted for replenishing their water-skins. "My brethren," says Job, "have betrayed me like a torrent" (we seem to hear the play on the Arabic words for "pool" and "treachery") [6]—like a channel wherein

[1] *Lisan al-arab*, x. 410.
[2] Palgrave, *Travels*, i. 342.
[3] Azraki, p. 394.
[4] Cp. xxii. 11, xxvii. 20.
[5] Palgrave, *Travels*, ii. 131.
[6] Letters of Abu 'l-'Ala, p. 5, 11.

torrents pass, such as are turbid with ice, and whereon the snow is conspicuous. At what time they are——, they disappear; when it is hot, they vanish from their bed. Their courses become tortuous; they 'mount into the desert' (here again we recognise an Arabic phrase,[1] of which the use in this context is perhaps wanting in felicity) and are lost. The caravans of Tayma were on the look-out, the companies of Saba hoped for them; they are ashamed because they——(have sunk into the ground?); they come up to them and are disappointed." Compare with this what Palgrave tells us repeatedly. "The pools and torrents which form during the winter on the plateaus or furrow the valleys are soon reabsorbed in the marly or sandy soil." [2] "Rain fell abundantly and sent torrents down the dry watercourses of the valley, changing its large hollows into temporary tanks. None of the streams, however, showed any disposition to reach the sea, nor indeed could they, for this part of Nejd is entirely hemmed in to the east by the Towaik range." [3] "None of these winter torrents finds its way unbroken to the sea: some are at once reabsorbed, while a few, so the natives of the country told me, make their way right through Toweyk to the Nefud on the west, or to the Dahna on the east and south, and *are there speedily lost in the deep sands*, where a Rhine or a Euphrates could hardly avoid a similar fate." [4]

Since the Arabic language would seem to have been spoken in Arabia from time immemorial, we should expect the speakers to have Arabic names; and we are not disappointed. *Zofar* is felicitously identified by Al-Baghawi [5] with the name *Zāfir*, "conqueror," which is probably still in use. An Ibn Zafir figures in the list of Arabic authors; [6]

[1] Farazdak, first poem, line 2.
[2] *Travels*, ii. 176. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 115. [4] *Ibid.* i. 339.
[5] *Commentary on the Koran*, p. 593.
[6] *Matali' al-budūr* (Cairo, 1299, A.H.), i. 123.

but the form Muzaffar is more common. *Elifaz* means "my God has won"—in the arrow game, the classical sport of the pre-Mohammedan Arabs. Winning in that game is typical of the grandest form of success; Paradise itself is spoken of as the *grand prix*, or *gros lot*. *Bildad* cannot be separated from Baldud, "the name of a place near Medinah."[1] Both apparently belong to a dialect in which an M at the beginning of a word turns into B, and they mean respectively "the stubborn antagonist,"[2] and "the place of the stubborn encounter." The name Job or *Iyyob* is easily identified with the Arabic *hayub*, "reverent" or "reverend"; the authorities are doubtful which the word means. A tradition "faith is *hayub*" may mean either that the faithful fear God and avoid transgression, or that they are objects of reverence.[3] The description of Job as fearing God and keeping clear of evil favours the former explanation; whereas Job's description of his life in chapter xxix. might favour the latter. Among Job's daughters, one, Jemimah, has an Arabic name (*yumaimatu*, "little dove," diminutive of *yamamatu*, the name of a lady who played an important part in the legends of the Arabs); while the names of the others might be translations. The last proper name, Elihu, might be either Arabic or Hebrew.

Possibly the most characteristically Arabic notion in the work is the author's idea of a book as a slab of stone. In the well-known verses in the nineteenth chapter, "Would that my words were written, would that they were engraved in a book, with a style of iron and lead (?), dug in the rock for ever," it would seem clear that the book whereof he is thinking is a page of stone. This takes us into Arabia. The Arabic word[4] whence the Hebrew for "book" is derived means properly "a stone," and the verb

[1] Yakut, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v.
[2] Cf. Zamakhshari's *Mufassal*, § 4.
[3] *Nihayah* of Ibn Al-Athir.
[4] *Zubr*.

taken from it means "to stone." An early poet compares the effect of rain on the sand to the process whereby the composition is committed to the stones.[1] In xxxi. 6 Job says that if he could get hold of the affidavit of his opponent ("the book written by mine adversary"), he would carry it on his shoulder! This would seem to imply that it would be a heavy weight, not a light slip of parchment or papyrus. The phrase that follows, "I should bind it on me as a crown," refers to a practice sometimes mentioned by ancient writers of carrying objects of special value on the head.[2] The weight in Job's opinion would be no obstacle in the way of his flaunting an accusation of which he could answer every word. The stone slab of Arabia therefore corresponds to the Assyrian clay tablet, or the scroll of the Canaanites. From a "stone slab," which is the meaning the word still has in Job, *sefer* came to mean "writing" generally, and afterwards "book" in the familiar sense.

The references to "sealing" are not inconsistent with the theory of stone books. Sealing is done with clay (xxxviii. 14) according to the Arab practice. The verb "to seal" is used with the sense of obstructing (xxxvii. 7). The clay employed for this purpose was a sort of mortar, which permeated interstices like light (xxxviii. 14). The process of instruction is pictured as boring a hole in the ear, and *sealing* it, *i.e.* filling it up, with knowledge (xxxiii. 16). When the sealing clay dries, it becomes abnormally hard (xli. 8).[3]

D. S. Margoliouth.

[1] Lebid, *Muallakah*, at the beginning.

[2] Cobet, *Novæ Lectiones*, p. 394.

[3] The word in xxiv. 16 seems to mean "destined," and is from a different root.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.

I. *Καί* is almost uniformly used as a connecting link. This is natural in the case of a translator who had before him the Aramaic ו. The *εὐθύς* which is so commonly connected with it is perhaps more easily explained as a translation of an Aramaic particle than as original in a Greek writer. This particle may have been מִיָּד (Dalm., *Worte Jesu*, p. 23).

εὐθύς occurs about 42 times (*καὶ εὐθύς* c. 25, *ὁ δὲ εὐθύς* vi. 50, *ἀλλ' εὐθύς* vii. 25).

παλίν, which occurs about 25 times, may also be due to an Aramaic original, perhaps תּוּב.

δέ occurs about 140 times, frequently to point a contrast or to introduce a new subject.

γάρ occurs about 67 times.

ἀλλά occurs about 43 times.

Other particles are rare.

ὥστε 13, *τότε* 6, *εἶτα* iv. 17, viii. 25, *μὲν—καὶ* iv. 4, *μὲν—ἀλλά* ix. 12, 13, *μὲν—δέ* xii. 5, xiv. 21, 38, *οὖν* x. 9, xi. 31, xiii. 35, xv. 12.

The frequent use of *ὅτι* recitativum (about 37 times) is perhaps more easily explained as a translation of ד than as original.

II. The Verb.

(*a*) In Syriac the use of the present participle as an historic present is practically limited to the verb "to say" (Nöld., *Syr. Gram.*, S. 190). The frequent use of this construction in the case of other verbs in the Harclean Syriac is probably due to the scrupulous accuracy of the translator.

But there is reason to think that in the Aramaic dialects this usage was not limited to verbs of saying. In Daniel the construction is common with other verbs (cf. Strack,

Abriss. des Bibl. Aram., S. 21; Kautzsch, *Gram. des Bibl. Aram.*, S. 139).

e.g. iii. 3 מתכנשין and וקאמין, iii. 7 שמעין–ונפלין, iii. 26 נפקין, iii. 27 חזין, iv. 4 עללין, v. 5 וכתבן, v. 6 נקשן, v. 9 משתבשין.

Cf. also *Tobit*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4, l. 7, גחכין.

If the translator of the Aramaic Mark had this construction often before him—and it must be remembered that in an Aramaic MS. of that date the perfect and the participle would frequently be undistinguishable—the many historic presents in the Greek Mark find a natural explanation. λέγει or λέγουσιν occur about 72 times. Other verbs about 77 times. The irregular occurrence of the construction should be noticed. It occurs sometimes at the beginning of a sentence, especially in the case of the frequently used ἔρχεται (ονται), καὶ ἔρχεται (ονται), about 23 times. Other cases are καὶ ἀναβαίνει iii. 13, καὶ γίνεται ii. 15, καὶ συνέρχεται iii. 20, καὶ συνάγονται vi. 30, vii. 1, καὶ προσπορεύονται x. 35, καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν xii. 13. But often in the middle of a narrative with past tenses before and after it.

καὶ συνάγεται iv. 1, καὶ ἐγείρουσιν iv. 38, καὶ ἔρχονται—καὶ θεωροῦσιν v. 15, ἔρχονται v. 35, ἔρχεται vi. 48, καὶ φέρουσιν—καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν vii. 32, καὶ παραγγέλλει, viii. 6, καὶ λύουσιν xi. 4.

This interchange of present and past tenses seems to find its most natural explanation as being due to translation from an Aramaic original in which the participle, without the verb "to be," would frequently, as in the Aramaic of Daniel, be found amidst past tenses.

The use of the Greek participle loosely appended to a preceding clause may be due to the same cause: cf. i. 6, καὶ ἔσθων, and i. 13 D καὶ πειραζόμενος.

Perhaps also due to the same cause are the cases in which we find two or more participles, connected by καὶ, or, without conjunction, before a finite verb.

i. 26. καὶ σπαράξαν—καὶ φωνῆσαν—ἐξῆλθεν.
i. 41. καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας—ἥψατο.
iii. 5. καὶ περιβλεψάμενος—συνλυπούμενος—λέγει.
v. 30. καὶ εὐθὺς—ἐπιγνοὺς—ἐπιστραφεὶς—ἔλεγεν.
v. 25–27. καὶ γυνὴ οὖσα—καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσα—καὶ δαπανήσασα—καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα, ἀκούσασα—ἐλθοῦσα—ἥψατο.
v. 33. φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα, εἰδυῖα—ἦλθεν.
vi. 41. καὶ λαβὼν—ἀναβλέψας—εὐλόγησεν.
vii. 25. ἀκούσασα—ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν.
viii. 6. καὶ λαβὼν—εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν.
viii. 13. καὶ ἀφεὶς—ἐμβὰς ἀπῆλθεν.
viii. 23. καὶ πτύσας—ἐπιθεὶς—ἐπηρώτα.
ix. 26. καὶ κράξας καὶ πολλὰ σπαράξας ἐξῆλθεν.
x. 50. ὁ δὲ ἀποβαλὼν—ἀναπηδήσας ἦλθεν.
x. 17. καὶ—προσδραμὼν εἷς καὶ γονυπετήσας—ἐπηρώτα.
xii. 28. καὶ προσελθὼν—ἀκούσας—εἰδὼς—ἐπηρώτησεν.
xiii. 34. ἀφεὶς—καὶ δοὺς—καὶ—ἐνετείλατο.
xiv. 3. ἔχουσα—συντρίψασα—κατέχεεν.

(*b*) Another common construction in Aramaic is the use of a participle with the verb "to be" to describe events in the past. This has influenced the Greek translator in two ways. (i.) Sometimes he imitates the Aramaic construction.

i. 6 ἦν—ἐνδεδυμένος, 22 ἦν—διδάσκων, 33 ἦν—ἐπισυνηγμένη, ii. 6 ἦσαν—καθήμενοι, 18 ἦσαν—νηστεύοντες, v. 5 ἦν κράζων, vi. 52 ἦν—πεπωρωμένη, ix. 4 ἦσαν συνλαλοῦντες, x. 22 ἦν—ἔχων, 32 ἦν προάγων, xiii. 25 ἔσονται—πίπτοντες, xiv. 4 ἦσαν—ἀγανακτοῦντες, 54 ἦν συνκαθήμενος, 40 ἦσαν—καταβαρυνόμενοι, xv. 7 ἦν—δεδεμένος, 26 ἦν—ἐπιγεγραμμένη, 43 ἦν προσδεχόμενος, 46 ἦν λελατομημένον, i. 39 D ἦν κηρύσσων, ii. 4 D ἦν κατακείμενος; cf. also i. 4 D ἐγένετο—βαπτίζων, ix. 7 ἐγένετο—ἐπισκιάζουσα, ix. 3 ἐγένετο στίλβοντα.

(ii.) But more often he renders by an imperfect, about 180 times as compared with about 56 occurrences in Matthew.

(iii.) Prepositions.

The following are Semitic usages:—

i. 11. *ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα* = אתרעי ב, Heb. חפץ ב.

i. 15. *πιστεύετε ἐν* = הימין ב, Heb. האמין ב.

ii. 16. *ἐσθίει μετά* = אכל עם, Aram. or Heb.

i. 30. *λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς* = אמר על.

v. 29. *ἴαται ἀπό* = אתאסי מן, Heb. נרפא מן.

i. 7. *ἔρχεται—ὀπίσω* = אזל בתר, Heb. הלך אחרי.

v. 34. *ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην* = זיל לשלם, Dalm., *Gram. des Jud. Pal. Aram.*, S. 194.

v. 34. *ὑγιὴς ἀπό*.

vi. 50. *ἐλάλησεν μετά* = מלל עם.

vii. 28. *ἐσθίουσιν ἀπό* = אכל מן, Aram. or Heb.

xii. 2. *λάβῃ ἀπό* = נסב מן, Heb. לקח מן

vi. 2. *διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ* = בידיה or על ידיה. But the plural is unaramaic.

Here also should be reckoned the frequent repetition of a preposition, both in a compound verb and independently.

i. 25. *ἔξελθε ἐξ*; cf. i. 26, v. 2, 8, vi. 54, vii. 29, 31, ix. 25.

i. 42. *ἀπῆλθεν ἀπό*; cf. v. 17.

i. 45. *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς*; cf. ii. 1, v. 13, vii. 17, ix. 25–28, 45, 47, x. 15, etc.

vii. 26. *ἐκβάλῃ ἐκ*.

(iv.) Some miscellaneous Aramaic idioms:—

καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλάμβανουσιν iv. 36; cf. also viii. 13, xii. 12, xiv. 50, and Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 17.

ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν i. 35; cf. also ii. 14, vii. 24, x. 1, xiv. 60, and Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 17.

ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν vii. 25; cf. also v. 23, xii. 42, xvi. 1, and Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 16.

καθίσας ἐφώνησε ix. 35; cf. Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 17.

ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν i. 45, and about twenty-five times; cf. Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 21.

εἶπεν δοθῆναι v. 43 = אמר ל; cf. Dan. iii. 19.

εἶπα—ἵνα ix. 18; cf. iii. 9.

ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι i. 17.

εἷς used indefinitely = חד, Dalm., *Gram.*, S. 89, ix. 17, x. 17, xii. 28, xiii. 1, xiv. 18, 66.

εἷς = πρῶτος: so xvi. 2 τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων; cf. Dalm., *Gram.*, S. 196.

εἷς κατὰ εἷς xiv. 19; cf. Wellh., *Skizzen*, vi. 190.

δύο δύο vi. 7; cf. vi. 39 and 40; cf. Wellh., *Skizzen*, vi. 190.

εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατον iv. 8; cf. iv. 20. The εις and εν seem to be due to translation of חד; cf. Dan. iii. 19 חד שבעה, or חד ב, or על חד; Dalm., *Gram.*, S. 103; Wellh., *Skizzen*, vi. S. 193.

καλὸν ἐστιν—εἰ ix. 42.

τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ (var. αὐτῆς) Ἡρῳδιάδος vi. 22. The usual Aramaic rendering of "the daughter of" is ברתה ד. The Greek translator, by rendering the suffix, has put before his readers an expression which could only mean "his daughter" or "her daughter," either of which is incorrect in point of fact.

τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων iii. 28 = בני נשא.

οὗ—αὐτοῦ i. 7; cf. vii. 25, = ה—ד.

There are in the Gospel a number of renderings of idioms which are Semitic, but of which the original might be either Aramaic or Hebrew.

e.g., τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = birds, iv. 32; οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ii. 19; "to reason in the heart," ii. 6; "in that day," of the indefinite future, ii. 20. So "in those days," xiii. 17, 24; "in that day," iv. 35; or "in those days," of an indefinite time within the period contemplated.

φωνὴ ἐγένετο = a voice was heard, i. 11; "to taste of death," ix. 1; "the Jordan river," i. 5.

Further, there are several passages which suggest mistranslation of an Aramaic original, although it is not easy to reconstruct the Aramaic phrase. Thus ἔρχεται in iv. 21 can hardly be original. D has ἅπτεται, which may preserve the true meaning.

Again, ἐπιβαλών in xiv. 72 is difficult. D has ἤρξατο = שרי. This may be right. ἐπιβαλών may be an attempt to render שרי misread as שדי. ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ, ix. 41, can hardly be original, and seems to be due to a translator who has rendered too literally an Aramaic idiom.

Lastly, fragments of the original Aramaic have been preserved in—

βοανηργές iii. 17, βεεζεβούλ iii. 22, Καναναῖος iii. 18, Ἰσκαριώθ iii. 19, Ῥαββουνεί x. 51, Ταλειθᾶ κούμ. v. 41, ἐφφαθά vii. 34, Ἐλωί Ἐλωί λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί xv. 34, Ὡσαννά xi. 10, Γολγοθᾶ xv. 22, ἀββά xiv. 36.

The translator adds ὁ πατήρ. In x. 46 he is uncertain whether βαρτίμαιος is a proper name, or whether the blind beggar is spoken of as a son of Timai. Δαλμανουθά in viii. 10 has been explained as a corruption of an Aramaic original; cf. Rendel Harris, *Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 178; Schultze, *Gram.*, S. 48; cf. also Nestle, *Phil. Sac.*, S. 17; Dalm., *Gram.*, S. 133. But I do not feel satisfied with any explanation which has yet been given.

In spite of the tradition as to a Semitic original of St. Matthew, modern scholars seem to be generally agreed that our Gospels were written in Greek, and based upon Greek sources; cf. Dalm., *W. J.*, S. 56. Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, SS. 117–121. Dr. Zahn is, of course, a distinguished exception; but his defence of an Aramaic St.

Matthew has, so far as I know, found no supporters. That St. Matthew and St. Luke were written in Greek seems to me to be beyond question, But there is much in St. Mark to suggest an Aramaic original, and I have attempted in the preceding pages to bring together some of the evidence. I do not venture to say that it is sufficient to prove my thesis that our present Gospel is a translation; but I think that there is enough to justify a reconsideration of the question, and that it is worth while making the attempt to induce linguists, such as Professors Wellhausen, Nestle, and Dalman, to pronounce a final judgment upon it.

The Aramaic colouring of St. Mark has, of course, often been commented on, and there are two possible ways of explaining it. The popular explanation is that the author was bilingual, that he wrote his Gospel probably at Rome, and therefore in Greek, but that his material, oral or written, has come to him in an Aramaic form, and thus naturally retains an Aramaic ring (cf. Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xxxvi.). Those who hold this view do not seem to have sufficiently apprehended how much of Aramaic idiom and phraseology there is in the Gospel. It is to be found not only in our Lord's sayings, where it would be natural enough in a Greek writer, but in the framework of the Gospel, which must be due not to the sources of the work, but to the writer himself. It seems to me difficult to suppose that a Greek-speaking Jew would have written Greek of this sort, and this difficulty is increased if one supposes that he was writing it for the Roman Church. St. Paul, St. James, St. Peter if he wrote the first Epistle, all wrote a less Aramaic Greek than this. The question is, of course, one of probability. Is it more probable that the Greek of this Gospel can be explained as the work of a bilingual Jew, or as a translation of an Aramaic original?

I write, of course, on the assumption that the language

of St. Matthew and St. Luke has been largely determined by St. Mark, and that they cannot therefore be adduced as independent examples of Greek writings with a considerable Aramaic colouring.

I do not propose to discuss at any length the importance of the question here raised. It may be sufficient to indicate some of its bearings. If the Gospel were written in Aramaic, it will probably have to be assigned to an earlier date than the period 60–70 A.D., to which modern writers seem disposed to attribute it. Further, it will be improbable that it should have been written at Rome. Again, some difficulties which at present confront students of the Synoptic problem will be removed. Divergencies between St. Mark and the two later Gospels might easily be accounted for by supposing that the Greek copies of St. Mark which lay before the later writers differed slightly from the Gospel in its present form. And agreements between St. Matthew and St. Luke as against St. Mark might be similarly accounted for.

In conclusion, reference should be made to Prof. Blass' *Philology of the Gospels*. The greater part of this paper was already in MS. when that work appeared. And it seems to the present writer that the argument for an Aramaic Mark, there put forward, from the phenomena presented by the textual variations, is more precarious than the argument from the linguistic features of the Gospel. But of course the two lines of proof would support one another.

W. C. Allen.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

V.

"The Life Within Bars."

(Gen. xxxix. 20 to end, and xl. 1 to end.)

We know that there is a fine and sympathetic connection between what befell Joseph in actual fact and what is written about him in Scripture; for we have seen that his doing of God's will was so recognised and sanctioned that the record of it has become a Word of God to man. Yet the connection is more intricate and subtle than that; and here we seem to see something of the process by which Bible Truth that now teaches had in the first instance to be taught. It was first given, and at the same time verified, in human experience. By means of circumstance and incident, through which He led the life of Joseph, God was making upon his human heart and memory great *im*pressions, to which afterwards in His Book He gave permanent *ex*pression; He transferred the record and lessons as graven on Joseph's soul and fixed in his character in such a way that his consciousness of God became legible and instructive to others. The facts of his life became truths, and were charged with a Divine emphasis which made them *doctrine*; they were commissioned with a Divine power to *teach*.

This fact can be used as a key, and it may enable us to unlock the problem of all Revelation—even that given in the Life of the Man who was God. God has always to handle human lives, and thus to try and prove them. He has to take soft and tender human hearts and leave the trace of His touch upon them; He has, as if in furnaces, to make character soluble, in order to fashion it more divinely. He did all this in some chosen lives, in a conspicuous and transcendent degree, in the days of old; and

that was His first step towards this Book, which reveals and explains our own life to us. He lined and cut the letters first on tablets, which burned and bled in the process, and these became the type with which The Divine printed His Book. The pages are orderly before all men now, and the tale reads correct and complete, and all ends well in light and love; but look at the lives from which this record has been transferred. Think of Joseph's life; think of the life of Jesus. The print may be distinct and smooth and fair to read, but turn to the type that the printer has used. Everything there is reversed and blurred; it is all black and harsh, and like scars that once were wounds. Even now nothing there is of itself legible to us, and to some one everything there must once have been not only an enigma, but a pain.

The arrest laid upon ourselves when we read of this elect and lofty soul being so lied on and wronged is very profound. Great voices are heard in our own being, and spiritual reserves seem to muster with swift tread far within us, as if aware that great issues were at stake. We feel at once as if our own life were somehow involved, and our highest inheritance in the universe questioned and challenged. So we stand still to watch as they lead this prisoner forth from Potiphar's house. He is a notable prisoner, for virtue is his only crime and its punishment—worse than death—is dishonour; and we are tempted to ask if even this once, in a corner of God's wide kingdom, His hand was shortened or His law of justice was suspended.

That question would be rash and inadequate. There is no accident or chance in what thus befell. The scale and range of these events must be measured by standards which assume finer powers, and are the index of higher laws, than those of common calculation. The tests of eternity were being applied in a preliminary way to this

unreproved and beauteous youth, so as to suggest the divinity in suffering and the sacrificial element in every life that saves. The mystery is not in any high law suspended, but in highest law suggested, as they walk this blameless lad along the public street in the form of a sinful man. It is his higher purpose and power in life that have clashed and struck with lives of meaner order, and have brought it into this temporary confusion. So it is a stately procession as Joseph goes to that Egyptian prison house, there either to live or die—it matters not which! We may infer the supremacy and sovereignty of goodness in him even from the way in which the tempter planned his fell assault, when, after a long fast of his affections apart from the charities of home life, and without the solace of his father's love, his heart was an-hungered; and still more from the way in which he had drawn his line of defence where his nature was most vulnerable, and made his stand where in that rude age it was counted little harm to yield. We may see it all in his mien; he has walked in fire, and the flame has not kindled on him; he shrinks from no man's notice, though they have attached a repugnant sin to his name; his eyes retain their steady focus. He wears honour on his high brow, though the victim at once of human hate and lust; and he has noble distinction as of sacrifice. Any sadness in his face is after the likeness of the Divine—a serene, silent sorrow; a wistful grief more pathetic than tears; the deep, dumb pain of innocence suffering for sin. We may be sure that he is consecrate and committed to some divine service when he suffers so; and he must be splendidly attended, for when men go forth as the world's saviours their invisible retinue are the unconquerable human powers and the allies of heaven. Still, it is to common eyes a strange, sad spectacle. This shining Hebrew face, conspicuously bright among those of the swarthy Egyptians, as long before

Sarai's had been and as long afterwards Moses' was, dashed as if with disastrous eclipse! and that white, clean soul made the arena of such insult and pain! We dare say that the red drops of a sore soul-sweat were on Joseph's brow as, indicted in one flash of thwarted passion, condemned ere he could plead, and convicted before he was tried, he now went doomed, and like one disgraced, to that house of bondage; and these drops of heart-shed travail might well be struck on lintel and doorpost as he passed within—a token for God to mark, until in liberty and glory this son was manifested. Only one soul was then under God's altar to call; but for Joseph, while his life was within these prison bars, the voice of Abel must have been heard crying aloud, "How long? O Lord, holy and true!"

The laws of human nature and life were fixed when God made man in His own image, and they have not changed since; so there is no cause for wonder when highest human lives are found at many points to resemble each other and seem even to follow one another along the same paths. We may rather expect to find one great life seeming to flash its light and give sign to many others, when we watch history; and, as we trace it in detail, we need not be surprised when early we find that other feet had indicated those steps which in the fulness of the times received approval and warrant as God's way of life. Yet we must not detach the Bible's high lives from ordinary surroundings or divert them from the common roads of human feet. These lives were not sustained on spirit-wings, so as to make their course to most of us inaccessible and visionary. They lead to the keeping of sheep, and the ploughing of fields, and the carpenter's shop, and to household service by door and stair. So we must not blind our eyes with the aureole around the head of this priest of an early sacrifice, but we must look at the plain facts of his hands that work and his feet that walk. Neither romance nor glory there! Joseph had made clean,

fair writing in his little book of life while he had a borrowed home with Potiphar; but the Great Teacher came and turned the leaf, and bade him begin anew and write another chapter with a sharper pen. And what a school in which to serve and learn, and every day write his page! An uncomfortable school! a house of correction indeed! and yet the pupil neither a criminal nor a rebel! Dank walls and sullen windows! a bustle at the doors that at any hour might be the rustle of Death to some one! a dim, discordant place! a vault in the house of life!

"Joseph's master took him and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound": so reads the chapter at the twentieth verse. Give any man, who knows prisoners and their history, his choice, and he would not choose a cell where a king keeps his prisoners! The dreariest walls that ever were closed around human life are those which jealous kings have built. "The head that wears a crown" lies uneasy; and kings have wakened from their sleep afraid that their dungeons were neither deep enough nor dumb enough, and often in the night have readjusted there both fetters and destiny. Where Pharaoh bound his prisoners, the chain of each cell would be short and tight, and Death would haunt the corridor. If we had wanted to find for Joseph the unlikeliest place in all Egypt for promotion, we should have chosen "the place where the king's prisoners were bound." If anywhere we might lose hope of him ever again making headway or finding outlet, it is there in those dungeons beneath the palace, even though he may carry in his heart a courage and a peace which a king cannot buy in the market, though he offer the dowry of empires. Shall we say, then, in despair, Alas! for Joseph?

Thus far, in this representative life of long ago, morality and virtue do not seem to pay. That life within bars seems an unaccountable return for duty-doing, coming, too, as it

does, after the dry pit, the journey with the slave gang, the open market, and the house of bondservice. It did seem hard that he, like a sailor who had been in the sea, had no sooner climbed up to a shelf of rock than a long green wave reaches up and lifts him down. It is altogether so glaring a case for surprise that we may sit down and think it all over. For it is better to know the terms and count the cost of virtue before we commit ourselves to it. Its wages are not paid weekly, any more than are sins. The virtuous man has often to lie a long time out of his reward. God takes long credit of those who transact with Him. The saint needs to add to his virtue patience, because his God often carries large arrears forward, even into eternity. Yet, after all, might Pharaoh's prison not be, perhaps, as much in the line of progress as Potiphar's house? He could get no higher and could grow no greater there; and that cruel push which dislodged him from that highest and threw him down into a deeper depth may necessitate the taking of steeper rock steps to freer heights. There were surely better things in Egypt for such an one as Joseph than the stewardship of Potiphar's house! Still it seems all very sad and strange. Only we cannot guess the architect's plan when we merely see the chiselling and hear the harsh grinding as they polish and prepare the stone; we cannot infer the glowing design of the artist until the cathedral window holds to the light the glass he has stained.

A little pathetic clause, over which the inspiring genius of the story seems to linger for a pensive moment, closes a verse with the simple words, "and he was there in the prison." There is a lift and a fall in the words, as if a sigh were in them. From somewhere, Pity evidently had come and hung about the prison doors while Joseph was within; and we feel as if in these words it was suggested that Pity's hands had touched the handles of the locks many

a night in vain. A *Divine* Pity it was, too, that yet had to acquiesce rather than interfere—an angel Pity, who may still attend and inspire when we ourselves must wait while some necessity of pain holds those we love. The sympathy of these words yields to our love and patience still further, and we seem to catch from them a reflex suggestion of a modest, reticent resignation in the heart of Joseph. Amidst such unkindness, and through the torture of such continual twisting and reversing in his honest life, he could not have kept a shining face and a fresh, untarnished soul; he must have grown sullen and sour, or morbid and callous, if he had not been conscious that there was pity for him wherever the Divine dwelt, and if he had not been aware of a continual ministering like that of visitants from God. The whole harsh story grows tender and mystic under the simple spell of these plain words, and there are gleams—almost a glow is seen—in the darkness. Joseph must have had "food convenient" brought to him in his cell, as if on wings and from far away; and a glory must often have fallen on the bars as they whose faces see God went and came. Foolish work is being attempted in that Egyptian jail!—two impossibilities: to baffle God, and to imprison a human soul.

There was, however, another quarter hard by where no pity was, and whence no ministry of kindness came. Other than angel hands were about the prison locks, only to make sure that they were fast enough. There are two worlds unseen on either hand of every human life, and they are antagonistic to one another; yet we are in alliance with the one or the other every moment, and we are visited by the winged spirits of each continually. Joseph's foiled temptress had not a jot of pity to extend to him nor a finger of help; she, with sin's madness in her heart, was sworn against him. She not only lied on him and left him, but she hated him every day the more, and she would tell

her lie again each time she feared his cell door was loose. Her darkest thoughts would often prowl down the stone stair of the king's dungeons. Tenderest of ministers, woman can become the keenest of persecutors! There is no magnanimity in sin or chivalry among the sinful. Sin is not safe, if we look at it merely economically and selfishly. There is no affiance between souls when sin is the bond, and none of its alliances can be trusted; it can neither create friendship nor sustain fellowship. It is a cold, disintegrating power amongst men; it cuts us off from true relations to others, and even from happy relations to our own nature. It is the serpent power in life's garden. Thorns and thistles grow in its trail; it drives out the *man*. It destroys the fibres out of which purity and beauty and truth grow, and it turns round its cold head to eat the human soul.

"But the Lord was with Joseph, and showed him mercy, and gave him favour . . . and that which he did the Lord made it to prosper." There are forces at work in Joseph's life which are of such deep and essential motive that, in any circumstances, it will be true "That which hath been is that which shall be." His life is geared to, and is in touch with, the divine order of things. He cannot but succeed, apparently; and his life will not wreck or drift with circumstances. Dash it here or there, turn it upside down or any way! it will right itself; and, though the waters around it be only a litter of broken hopes, the life will steady itself and progress. He was soon to the front in the prison, the one man there so central and supreme that nobody but he counted, and "whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it." He must have stooped to conquer. It must have been obedience with a cheerful unreserve, an entire willingness to submit, an immediate and uncomplaining faithfulness in duty, that won the honours of that dismal little world of bolt and

bar. Prompt, reliable, and persistent, never moody or morbid for a moment, this swift, mercurial life begins soon to affect the whole feeling of the place. Himself never once resentful or vindictive, he seems to soothe and reconcile; himself never sulking, he diffuses sunshine; his own life melodiously toned, he seems to subdue the dissonance of the harsh house of pain, and he reigns there in the power of higher and better worlds. It certainly was not brilliant talent that won this success. The wards of a king's jail are just the one place in all the world where genius is of no avail—is indeed a disadvantage; for there the cleverer the prisoner the stricter the watch, and the greater his influence over others the more restricted his liberty! Everything in a prison is devised and elaborated so as to counterwork and thwart the strength and ingenuity of the man with brains. The explanation, therefore, of Joseph's distinction in that impossible environment must be given in the coming in of higher laws, which found channel and play for themselves in his sweet, pure soul.

This spiritually interpretative narrative gently glows at this point, when it makes this thought the *motif* of the situation, "The Lord was with him." If we translate the words out of their Hebrew meaning, so as to read them into universal experience, we may understand that there was a connection close and sympathetic between that isolated life and the power of other worlds. He has been reviled, but he reviles not again, and while suffering wrongfully he neither strives nor cries; yet the pressure of God's hand is upon his soul, and a fine strength continually reinforces him. Each hour that the grating lock renewed his imprisonment he was made aware that he was "alone and yet not alone"; for the pure in heart there saw God. No outward omen of the supernatural was given; no voice coming from the cloud that overshadowed him proclaimed him a son, nor did any light so shine on his face that it

needed to be veiled when warders opened to him in the gloom; yet to those of even dull vision his open countenance became an index of a soul within that had no controversy with God, and a constant composure and quietness gave plain token that a Divine Presence was comforting him. Is the teaching here not more intricate and subtle than if it told us of gates having opened of their own accord? And are not the lessons of universal reference, as we are told of the victory of a silent and patient faith? For may we not rise out of any straits in life, as Joseph rose out of his? and, in a conscience void of offence, is not God's companionship available to us in any solitude? and, in the approvings of an innocent heart, may we not all know that He is well pleased with us? Yet we are upon the lines of a diviner life than our own when we find ourselves here with one who seemed to draw in God with his constant breath, and to whom the Divine will was no effort. For is there not a subtler suggestion than of a merely human life given in the whole picture in this passage? and, at the heart of all that is here said, is there not a throb as if the speaker had a deeper thought than only of Joseph? Is there not an intricate interweaving of prophecy and history here? and does not a mild ecstasy come over our own soul when we realize that the Divine credentials of this long-suffering and heroic life were given when, in the unjust and cruel prison, a meek and quiet spirit descended from heaven like a dove and abode upon him? Yet who at all adequately believed this report from Joseph's call? and to whom in all this was the arm of the Lord revealed—until Jesus Christ came? Oh! say not that Joseph is a *type* of Jesus! That saying would only touch the letter of revelation; and the whole thing is deeper and intenser than that of a book and its words. Some law of suffering and substitution and sacrifice and atonement, far more intense and real than words can say,

runs through all the universe of God, and it comes out in flashes and agonies, and a death that has a higher life in it whenever and wherever the human and the Divine are to be reconciled and intermingle.

But come back to the story. Let it bring us back to the life within the bars. The order of a king's prison in olden days was very summary. Men were brought in and men were taken away—no one knew why; and least of all, sometimes, knew the capricious king himself. While Joseph was in charge it happened so; two prisoners were sent from the palace, the chief butler and the chief baker. As the sequel shows, they had done equally much or equally little to offend Pharaoh; they were put in ward and had to await their chance. Chance, indeed, it seems to have been, for the one was restored and the other died. Perhaps no more serious wrong had been done by either than suggested itself to the humour of a king with a pampered appetite. Our interest in their life in prison turns upon their two dreams and upon their seeing there the face of Joseph; and that we may see his face as it was seen by them, we need only to read (xl. 7) the words, "Wherefore look ye so sadly to-day?" Therein we see his face looking out of the darkness like a Rembrandt portrait. His faithfulness as a keeper was relieved by tenderness of word and tone; he looked upon his prisoners' countenances and he read their sorrows, and he spoke kindly to them. What a delightful way to begin a day even in a prison! What virtue there was in a kind look and a kind word in that gloomy house! What a good substitute for the sunshine that was shut out, and what a relief to those forbidding walls! It is the first words in the morning spoken both to God and man that determine the way in which our day shall go. A kind look can sweeten the morning, and one harsh word at the breakfast table can disorganize and disorder the life of the home circle for the whole day. One of the angels we spoke

of must have dropped in his heart the seed of that fine pity which now blossomed out in these fragrant words on this jailer's lips, "Wherefore look ye so sadly to-day?"

These men "dreamed a dream, both of them, each man his dream in one night." Dreams, dreams indeed, men have; and they know their dreams to be only dreams; the mystical shapings of a day of idle facts and fancies and miserable thinkings; a day's wreckage drifting away, they know not whither; the past and the present, the future and the impossible, the living and the dead thronging and ranging the fields of sleep. We may sometimes wisely pause and notice how we dream, for hereafter our whole life will seem but as a dream when one has awakened. Sometimes a man seems to see his own face in his dream; oftener the soul can see something of itself and its future when it dreams. As long as a man can dream, he can and he ought to pray.

It is not difficult to imagine how the two dreams in that Egyptian prison took shape. Sleep draws the curtain upon which the past and the future are thrown and tremble in a strange fantasy. The past life of each dreamer—he with his cup of wine, and he with his basket of bakemeats—inwove itself with his hope or his fear of the future. Both of them, perhaps, had been wondering what their fate might be, knowing that Pharaoh's birthday drew near when he played with life and death in his revelry; they had probably spoken of it together ere they slept. Then some half-remembered look or word of his might dimly swim into their memory or might stir in the subconsciousness of their soul a word or look which had indicated tenderness or enmity in the king's heart to the one or to the other; and thus, with these disorganized materials littered in their mind, they went to sleep. Then it was that God gave them dreams, each his own, in the one night. Between their past and their future, out of their fear and their hopes, in the dark there

they saw glimmering the things that were to be. Thus they dreamed; but they had no interpreter and they were sad.

The want of an interpreter always makes men sad. We do not like a man to shake his head at us and speak in an unknown tongue; nor do we like to see the curtains of our room moving and not know who stirs behind them. Nor less were these men troubled by their dreams. They felt that there was a meaning behind the two corresponding visions that the same night had brought, and they were ill at ease till Joseph deciphered what they had seen in their sleep. He knew God's writing, and read the dreams as reverently as verses in God's Book; and as he had read, so it happened. The one was restored and the other died, as Joseph had interpreted.

We can speak only most vaguely and uncertainly about those dream visions which God gave men in the ages nearer the beginning. We have lost the spiritual sensorium to which they appealed; perhaps they were only the rudimentary twitchings and the half-awakened consciousness of what are now full-grown spiritual faculties in the human soul. At any rate, the world was young then, and had to be educated. The veil was finer long ago than now, which separated the natural from the supernatural, the human from the divine; and God was teaching men like children—by signs and picture letters, when, in dreams of the night and by angel visits, He kept the light of other worlds playing around our one while men slept. All that was needed lest men should have forgotten God altogether; it was all needed till Christ should come. Then, in Him, revelation culminated, and the Book was closed. Dreams and visions from God are not now used for revealing His way or His will; angel voices and angel visits are things of the past; spiritual manhood has come to us in Christ Jesus, and the screen scenery of the night has been folded up and laid aside as a childish thing; and how solemn to think

that God will never, except by Christ's silent Spirit, speak another word or give another sign to man until the trumpet sounds and time is no more!

This prison scene is so strangely suggestive that it reads altogether like a little allegory of human life on the earth. The dim light of the place, its gentle keeper, the vast uncertainty over all, and these men dreaming their dreams of the future out beyond the stone walls and iron bars of their environment—are these facts not like bare under-boughs in this book of life over which from its central stem larger branches are stretched forth? From the beginning men have felt that out beyond where they can reach and see, their destiny lay; a king was there who kept the times and the seasons, and against them or for them a hand seemed ever to be writing in the dark. Like these poor men in Pharaoh's jail, we all have wakened up here, and we are troubled with a dream. If this world were all, we should not so much mind; but our dream has been of a world beyond and of a hereafter, and it needs an interpreter. Even the world of nature is not its own interpreter; it is rather a veil hung up between us and a holy of holies, and we cannot decipher its symbolic broidery; for the blue curtain overhead, and the green along the hills, the sackcloth across the firmament, and the silent snow on the earth, do not tell men their deepest meanings. Nor is human life its own interpreter; the gates of birth and death are curtained; before birth and beyond death one figure is mysteriously outlined, but no face is seen; the moving of a form is there, but he is "covered with a mantle," and men fear to die because they do not know what they shall see when death draws up the veil. Therefore in human life it has been with men as when they dreamed. When they tried to close their eyes to it all, then the past and the future, the seen and the unseen, the fear and the hope, worked together into one strange glimmering hieroglyphic on their soul; they

awoke, and, behold, it was a dream; yet they were sad, because they had no interpreter.

What Joseph was in the Egyptian prison, Christ Jesus has been in our world. He has resolved the mysteries of life, and interpreted the dreams of the human soul. He has laid His hand on all the past, and read to us all the future. He has told the secret of the soul, and He has the keys of Death and Hades. Our life here is a life within bars—a life in the dark—a life of which all the truth lies in shimmering dreams of the things that are to be. Life is the dream; death will be the awakening. Have we had but one fear for an unhappy past, or but one hope for the far future? have we come upon but one gulf in our own soul, or one vista drawing our eye towards the far away? have the countless stars but once arrested us, or the spring flowers but once spoken to us? has the flaming minister of the cloud but once startled us, or Death walked silent over the snow and his knock alarmed the immortality within us? have we in any way been made aware of God interfering with our life? Then we have seen God behind the veil; we have dreamed a dream in our prison house; we need an interpreter; we need Christ to tell us what we are and what we must do. Life is a problem whether we look around or within; we need Jesus as much to interpret our own soul to itself as to read to us the riddle of the world. It is a right hard stern world, where there is a dim light, and the clank of chains, and the grind of inexorable locks. But this prison house has a kindly Keeper. He learned sympathy when He was an innocent prisoner Himself; He has the light of love in His eyes, and is always saying to us, "Why look ye so sadly to-day?" We should take Him and His words as *the Truth* when He speaks of life and death, of the present and the hereafter; and we should arrange and prepare as He has said. For ere long we must hear along these corridors of life the iron footfall of a

stranger, who never came before, and who comes only once. He is the King's last messenger; he is himself a king—men call him the king of terrors—and his name is Death.

Our life needs more than an Interpreter; it needs a Saviour. We need some one with us in life. We are neither wise enough, nor strong enough, nor good enough as we are and alone. We do not know the kind of guests that harbour in our hearts, and how false they will play us if we trust to ourselves. We do not know how sudden may be the rush of armoured men out of ambush to bind us, if we have not at our call One mightier than they. What wrecks of life we all have seen! What a sight one shore of eternity will present—strewed with the wreckage of men's lives, ill-steered and then not steered at all, lives that foundered at sea! We do not know what we are doing nor what we are coming to, trifling with our life in this world, bowling its millions of miles through space, and these million worlds of star-lit distance all looking down on us. Have we not all been surprised and appalled by what we have come suddenly upon in our own heart and life?

Thou ship of Life, with Death and Birth and Life and Sex aboard,
  And fires of desires burning hotly in the hold,
I fear thee, O! I fear thee, for I hear the tongue and sword
  At battle on the deck; and the wild mutineers are bold.
The dewdrop morn may fall from off the petal of the sky,
  But all the deck is wet with blood and stains the crystal red;
A pilot, God, a pilot! for the helm is left awry,
  And the best sailors in the ship lie there among the dead.

Our life needs saving. It is worth saving. The whole world is not so precious as our own soul; our soul is immortal. There is a Saviour—only one! God says so—and He is mighty to save. We know He can save us; we believe this, we feel it. And all the bells of heaven are rung whenever one sinner on earth accepts His great salvation.

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE TO AMOS V. 8.

In the Expositor for April I gave some reasons for thinking that Amos iv. 13 and v. 8 were descriptions not of Jahwe's creative energy, but of His coming to judge His people in the dark thunderclouds. One of the clauses in v. 8, as commonly translated, is at first sight inconsistent with this view, and I think I ought in justice to give an explanation.

In Amos v. 8 the words הפך לבקר צלמות ויום לילה החשיך are rendered in the English versions, "(Seek him that . . .) *turneth the shadow of death into the morning* and maketh the day dark with night." The reader naturally thinks of the normal alternation of day and night, sunrise and sunset. But quite apart from my theories about the thunderstorm, this rendering is exposed to a grammatical objection which, trifling as such a thing may seem, is often the surest critical weapon we possess. The second of the words quoted above is pointed with the article (לַבקר not לְבקר), and this is confirmed by the LXX., which has εἰς τὸ πρωί. Now when a thing is turned into something else, that something else does not have the article in Hebrew. God "turned the sea into dry land" (Ps. lxvi. 6), not into *the* dry land; He "turned the curse into *a* blessing" (Deut. xxiii. 6, Neh. xiii. 2); Moses' rod had been "turned into *a* serpent" (Exod. vii. 15); "they change night into day" (Job xvii. 12), not into *the* day. There are some twenty-five or thirty instances of this kind of sentence in the Hebrew Bible, including Amos v. 7, vi. 12, viii. 8, and not once is the ל pointed with the article.

The words הפך לבקר צלמות therefore do not mean, "He turneth darkness into morning," but

"*He turneth back darkness at morning*,"

i.e. brings back again in the morning the darkness of night. There is an exact linguistic parallel to this in Exodus x. 19

(ויהפך יהוה רוח ים). The east wind had brought the locusts upon the land of Egypt, but Jahwe *brought back* a west wind (which had been, so to speak, blown away by the easterly gale), and the locusts were taken off in the direction from whence they came.

Thus the reference to the production of light out of darkness disappears from Amos v. 7 in a correct translation and the whole verse speaks of the God of the storm, the Maker of the rain constellations, Who darkens the morning with the blackness of night when He "calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth."

F. C. Burkitt.

JÜLICHER ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OE THE PARABLES.

(*Concluded.*)

(ii.) But the most important of the parables of Jesus do not fall within the above category, viz., the well-known parables in narrative form. Not that this form, in itself, would exclude them from the class of similitudes. Within the limits of our definition we might quite well have a similitude in narrative form, supposing that the object of the speaker were to illustrate some actual fact of the past. But evidently this is not the case with the parables to which we refer. The illustrative portion gives a narrative of some past occurrence, but the saying, in the interest of which the story is told, refers not to the past but to the present or the future. For instance, in Matthew xxv. 1 sqq. we have a story of ten virgins, whose different experience is related; but the parable concludes with a warning for the future: "Watch, therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour." The parallelism between "fact" and "illustration," which we noted in similitude, no longer

obtains. And there is another point of difference. In similitude the illustration is taken from the world of reality. It speaks of things which happen every day, appeals to facts familiar to everybody, marshals the evidence of a τίς, a μήτι, an οὐδείς. But in these other parables we find Jesus drawing on His imagination, making up stories out of His head, basing His arguments, not on what every one does, but on what a particular man in particular circumstances did, without asking whether others would do the same. In what relation do these parables stand to the similitudes described above?

They are really merely higher forms of the same rhetorical figure, so that we might describe them as similitudes in narrative form. But rhetoric has long had a distinct name for the figure here before us. Alongside of παραβολή (similitude), Aristotle names FABLE as a species of rhetorical example (Rhet. ii. 20). He gives, as an instance, the celebrated fable of Stesichorus to the Himeræans, when they proposed to give a bodyguard to Phalaris. The horse, said the poet, in order to take revenge on the stag, became the slave of man. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, he concluded, ὁρᾶτε μὴ βουλόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσασθαι ταὐτὸ πάθητε τῷ ἵππῳ. The οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς recalls the use of the same phrase in the similitudes of Jesus, *e.g.*, Mark xiii. 28 sq., and testifies to the close relation of similitude and fable. The purpose of the fable indeed is precisely that of similitude—to convince by illustration of a parallel case. That the illustration it adduces is taken not from the real world but from the imagination, only adds to its strength, for ποίησις φιλοσοφώτερον ἱστορίας. In the actual there are so many factors present, that it is difficult to find a clear illustration of the law one desires to enforce. To secure an unhesitating verdict, one must arrange the evidence so as to bring out clearly the point in question. And further, the narrative of a particular incident has the great

advantage of vividness. The interest is excited, the whole scene is played before the eye. In a similitude, *e.g.*, "no man seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment," the understanding alone assents, but in a fable, the understanding and the eye. The similitude deals with such terms as *οὐδείς, μήτι, πᾶς ἄνθρωπος*, etc.; it would convince by the authority of the "in general." Fable is more modest in its aim. It says, "Hearer, let me give you a single case, and if that does not convince you, I will say no more." A *ὁ σπείρων* is an exception, and, at bottom, a mistake. Fable eschews all generalization. But, like the Sibyl, it becomes the richer for its sacrifice. The impression produced by the story of a particular case, well conceived, is much stronger than that which follows from any general illustration.

The majority of the parables of Jesus in narrative form, Jülicher regards as fables, similar to that of Stesichorus. Fable he defines thus: "Fable is that figure of speech in which the operation (Wirkung) of a proposition is secured by placing alongside of it a fictitious story, dealing with another sphere, whose framework of thought (Gedankengerippe) is similar to that of the proposition in question, but whose operation is assured."

If this definition of fable be accepted—and we have not space here to follow Jülicher in his discussion of the nature and origin of fable—then there should be little hesitation in assenting to the identification of the parable in narrative form, as we meet it in the preaching of Jesus, with fable. If any distinction between the two is to be made, it must be on the ground of the difference of tone. Phædrus claims for his book of fables the double qualification "quod risum movet et quod prudentis vitam consilio monet." The earnest religious tone, which pervades the parables of Jesus, disqualifies them for the one portion of such praise; and perhaps it were better, in view of the loftiness of the theme with which they deal, and the solemnity of their tone, to

distinguish the parables of Jesus by some special name from fable in the ordinary sense. Jülicher prefers to call them PARABLES in the narrower sense, reserving this name for the similitudes in narrative form, as distinguished from the similitudes mentioned before. But we must remember that while we may thus, for practical purposes, distinguish them from fable, they are essentially the same. Dignity or lack of dignity in content and tone, does not materially affect the rhetorical form.

It must be evident, from what has been said, that there can be no question of *interpreting* the parables. The purpose of a parable is to make clear; and if it be not clear itself, it fails of its object. Every word is to be understood in its literal sense. The parables of Jesus are not allegorical representations of spiritual things, but appeals to a familiar sphere, in order to establish conclusions with regard to the sphere of religion. Any attempt to interpret them point for point must, then, be futile. If the story is true to life, it cannot be true in the spiritual interpretation; and if it be true in the spiritual interpretation, it cannot be true to life. Such interpretations as are given in Matthew xiii. 19 sqq., 37 sqq., cannot be genuine. Such a pressing of the details betokens a radical misconception of the nature of the figure.

But it may be objected, If the object of a parable is to enforce one central thought only, does not that reduce all the details of the parables to mere poetical ornament? Yet we can hardly imagine our Lord wasting His time over the embellishment of the stories He told. But does it follow, that because the details of the parables are not to be invested with a deeper meaning, they are therefore mere useless ornaments? If they serve to bring into clearer prominence the central idea of the parable, have they not their necessary place? A careful study of the parables will prove that the details of the stories are far from being the

superfluous embellishments the opponents of our theory imagine. Every little touch in the picture helps to bring out the main idea, and adds to the effectiveness of the illustration. The detailed examination of the parables in the second volume justifies the claim Jülicher makes, that the theory of parables he advocates is able to do full justice to every genuine word in the parables of Jesus.

(iii.) But there are some parables which belong to neither of the above classes, viz.: Luke xviii. 9–14, the Pharisee and the Publican; Luke xvi. 19–31, the Rich Man and Lazarus; Luke xii. 16–20, the Rich Fool; and Luke x. 30–37, the Good Samaritan. These are narratives freely invented like the parables above, but distinct from them in this respect, that the stories told are taken from the religious sphere. According to our definition of fable (parable in the narrower sense), the illustration is borrowed from *another* sphere. This is the case with all the similitudes and parables described above. But here it is different. We never leave the religious sphere. In a word, the story is an *instance* of the truth asserted. Jülicher would call them "EXAMPLES IN NARRATIVE FORM." They lack the convincing power of similitude and parable. There is no "so also" to confute the doubter by proof from another sphere. They appeal not to the unbeliever but to the believer. One must admit the authority of the narrator before one submits to the authority of the narrative. The Lord says that the Publican went down to his house justified; but would the Pharisee be willing to assent? Or what could the Sadducees think of the story of Lazarus? We can imagine these parables being received with a shake of the head, or a shrug of the shoulders, a thing inconceivable with the true "parable," where the battle is fought on neutral ground, and the opponent is led on unsuspectingly to give his verdict on a case submitted to him, without realizing the consequence, until the "so also" of application opens his eyes.

(iv.) Still another kind of figurative speech is ascribed to Jesus in the New Testament. In John x. 1–16, we have a discourse in which the imagery of the sheepfold is plentifully employed. We read of sheep in the fold; of the shepherd entering by the door and the robber climbing up some other way; of a porter opening the door to the shepherd and the sheep recognising his voice. The parable (so it is called in our version) is followed by a somewhat confused interpretation, according to which Jesus is now the door, now the shepherd who enters by it. The character of the figure is not difficult to determine. It belongs to none of the classes described above, but is plainly an allegory. In order to do justice to the imagery, we must translate it into its spiritual equivalent. And even as an allegory, it is imperfect, for it is a defect that *θύρα* and *ποιμήν* should both denote the same thing, while the *θυρωρός* appears to have nothing to correspond to it. We meet another such allegory in John xv. 1 sqq.—the Vine and the Branches. The discourse is a series of metaphors, far from artistically constructed, for the symbol and its counterpart, figure and interpretation, are mixed up together, and run into one another. Jülicher is of opinion that these *παροιμίαι* are not genuine. If there be any authentic reminiscence underlying them, we can no longer conjecture its original form.

So far of the NATURE of parables. It remains now to consider the PURPOSE with which Jesus employed them. A question, we feel, which calls for but few words, for we have virtually decided it already. Once we realize the nature of the parables, there can no longer be any doubt as to their purpose. That purpose is inherent in them. One does not light a lamp save for the purpose of giving light. Neither did Jesus use illustrations, whose very nature, as we have seen, is to make clear, save with the purpose of aiding His hearers to a knowledge of the truth He sought to reveal.

But it is our duty to examine the sources, and consider their evidence. In Mark iv. and the Synoptic parallels, the question as to the purpose of the parables is raised. We shall confine ourselves here to the Mark account, which Jülicher regards as the primary source, and follow him in his examination of the relevant passages.

In Mark iv. 33 occurs a remark which, at first sight, appears to bear out the conclusion we have reached as to the purpose of our Lord's use of parables: "And with many such parables spake He the word unto them *as they were able to hear it.*" These last words are usually taken as meaning, that Jesus graciously adapted His teaching to the capacity of His hearers. The parables were the milk with which He fed the babes who were unequal to the strong meat of naked truth. On this view, we have here a thought parallel to the word of Christ to His disciples in John xvi. 12: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." This were certainly the most natural interpretation of the verse, did it stand by itself. But the verse which follows, does not bear out this interpretation: "But without a parable spake He not unto them; and when they were alone, He expounded all things unto His disciples." Observe the significance of the latter half of this verse. The disciples alone get an explanation from the Master of the parables He has spoken. The multitude receive everything in parables, the disciples everything expounded. Of what the disciples learn by that private ἐπίλυσις, the multitude learn nothing, unless indeed we are to believe that they were more enlightened than the Twelve, and understood, without ἐπίλυσις, what the disciples required to have explained to them. If we cannot suppose that, then the only conclusion is that the ἀκούειν of the multitude was a hearing without comprehension, in which case the καθὼς ἠδύναντο ἀκούειν serves to describe the parables as a form of doctrine which in-

duced a hearing, but nothing further, a hearing without effect on the understanding and heart.

Jülicher confesses that this interpretation of the words *καθὼς ἠδύναντο ἀκούειν* seems strained, if we take *v.* 33 by itself. But it is forced upon us by *v.* 34. And not by it alone. If our reading of these verses is correct, then we should expect something more than this incidental allusion to the effect of the parables. The verses point to deliberate intention. If Jesus spake in parables to the multitude and reserved the interpretation for His disciples in private, if He left the crowds who listened to Him to their worthless *ἀκούειν*, when He might so easily have converted that hearing into understanding by the *ἐπίλυσις* which He gave to the Twelve, then it must have been with a deep and deliberate purpose, of which we naturally expect to hear more. And we are not disappointed. The fact borne witness to in *v.* 33, of the mere *ἀκούειν* of the multitudes, is only the realization of the purpose which Jesus Himself, in an earlier part of the chapter, declares has led Him to the adoption of this form of doctrine. In *vv.* 10–13 we have a conversation between Jesus and the disciples, at the close of the parable of the sower. They ask Him regarding the parables (*ἠρώτων αὐτὸν . . . τὰς παραβολάς*). The expression is vague. To ask regarding the parables, might mean to ask why He uses parables, as Matthew takes it (xiii. 10), or to ask the meaning of the parables, as Luke interprets the question (viii. 9). But as we find Jesus (Mark iv. 13) referring to the disciples' ignorance of the meaning of this parable, we infer that He has learned that fact from the present question, and accept Luke's interpretation of the words. The plural in *v.* 10, *τὰς παραβολάς*, is striking, as Jesus has only spoken one as yet. Possibly Mark is already thinking of our Lord's answer, and anticipates the plural which follows. For Jesus, before giving His disciples the desired *ἐπίλυσις*,

first of all emphasizes the contrast which determines Him in His adoption of parable—on the one side ὑμεῖς, *i.e.*, His adherents (*v.* 10); on the other, ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἔξω, *i.e.*, those without. To the former the mystery of the kingdom is given, to the latter all things are done in parables. Exactly the contrast of *v.* 33, but here with the purpose explained (*v.* 12), "in order that seeing they may see and not perceive, . . . lest perchance they may turn and it be forgiven them." Here, then, is the purpose of the parables clearly set forth. The multitude receive the parables that they may have something for the eye and ear, something that they ἀκούειν δύνανται, but nothing that may penetrate to head and heart. They are to remain as they are, without turning to receive forgiveness.

In order to do justice to *v.* 11, we must beware of weakening the contrast of its two clauses by any additions of our own. To those who are without, the word of Christ (ὁ λόγος, *v.* 33) is given only ἐν παραβολαῖς: that does not mean "in parables without interpretation," but simply "in parables." To the ὑμεῖς it is not given in this manner. What to the others is a mystery is already given to them. It is altogether to destroy the force of δέδοται, to insert "by means of the interpretation of the parables." Were that the meaning, then Jesus has omitted the most important point in the sentence. There is nothing said here about the disciples receiving interpretation of the parables. Δέδοται is not equivalent to δέδοται γνῶναι (the false reading of the Received Text). The disciples have already received (observe the perfect δέδοται, as contrasted with the present γίνεται which follows); they have already recognised Jesus as the Messiah; they are already ἔχοντες and βλέποντες. What *v.* 11 does explain is why Jesus speaks to the multitude in parables, to the disciples not in parables.

Only on this supposition is *v.* 13 intelligible. "Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all the

parables?" Just because the disciples are so privileged that the mystery of the kingdom has already been given to them, Jesus is disappointed to find that they are unable to understand the parable they have heard. The two things are not incompatible. In Mark viii. 17, 18, the quotation from Isaiah, here introduced in reference to the multitude, is applied to the Twelve. The fact that the disciples did not understand the parable, does not affect the state of things described in *v.* 11. The parables were not meant for them, but for the multitude. Jesus might, if He chose, give them an interpretation in private. But it was for the multitude that they were intended, and their object was solely that described in *v.* 12, to give the people the word in a form which should conceal the truth, that their heart might be hardened and judgment overtake them.

Such is Mark's theory of the purpose of the parables. We cannot follow Jülicher in his trenchant criticism of the various shifts which the commentators have made to evade the conclusions which an examination of the above passages forces upon us. We have only to ask, in conclusion, whether we can accept this Synoptic theory of the purpose of the parables. There can be little hesitation on the question. Ask any ingenuous person to say candidly, apart from all Synoptic theory on the matter, whether he thinks that the parables serve to obscure, or to make plain, the truth; whether he believes that they were spoken with the former, or the latter, object; and there will be no doubt as to his answer. Consider whether it is possible that the Christ, who felt it to be His life work κηρύσσειν and διδάσκειν, ζητεῖν and εὑρίσκειν, can have spoken in parables with the object of *not* being understood. The nature of the figure in question, the character of the Preacher who used it, protest against such a theory. It is strange, surely, that the instrument, selected for this purpose, should have been the

one which, in the hands of any other, is the most effective for the very opposite end; strange that the man who perverted it to such an extraordinary use, should have been He whose object in life was the very opposite of that with which He is here credited. If there is one teacher, of whom we can affirm with certainty that his aim was NOT to conceal the truth from his hearers, lest they should be converted and receive forgiveness, that teacher is Jesus Christ. And if there is one form of instruction, of which we can affirm with certainty that its tendency is NOT to obscure, but to make clear so that even a child may understand, that form is parable. Had the purpose of Jesus been that which the Synoptists impute to Him, He would have selected some other instrument than parable; and had the tendency of parable been that which the Synoptists allege, it would never have been employed by the Saviour.

How this Synoptic theory of the purpose of the parables arose, we can only conjecture. Jesus Himself, Jülicher thinks, is not likely to have entered into discussion with His disciples on the subject. The theory is the product of a later date. After His death, when men began to collect all that could be obtained of the sayings and doings of the Master, it must have struck the pious collector, how large a part the parables played in the recorded utterances of Jesus. The sayings of Jesus arranged themselves in two groups, the parabolic and the non-parabolic. The contrast, once perceived, was emphasized until it deepened into opposition; and the two groups were characterized as veiled, and open, speech. But this opposition had to be accounted for. Why did Jesus employ these opposite kinds of speech? The answer readily suggested itself—It must have been the difference in the hearers that led to this difference in the method of doctrine. The mass of the people to whom He preached, rejected Him. If He did not gain them, He could not seriously have sought to. What was the result

of all His preaching—viz. the hardening of their hearts,—this and none other must have been His purpose all along. According to tradition, it was His practice ever to use parable in His address to the multitude. Was not the reason clear? If the parables were, as was believed, a kind of veiled, mysterious speech, then Jesus's only purpose, in using this form consistently in His teaching to the multitude, must have been to bring about that which actually came to pass, the hardening of their hearts so that they should not repent.

In some such way, we might account for the origin of the Synoptic theory as to the purpose of the parables. We cannot accept it in its entirety; and it seems wiser to admit candidly what that theory involves, and reject it altogether as unhistorical, than to make any attempt at partial acceptance or defence. "Either—Or: Either the one purpose of hardening the hearts of the hearers, and the reliability of the Synoptists on this question also;—Or: an erroneous conclusion on their part, in consequence of an error in the premises, and the same purpose in the parables of our Lord as in all others. This Either—Or goes deep. EITHER the Evangelists, OR Jesus."

G. WAUCHOPE STEWART.

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